The Wars of Private Hochhuth C. AMERY

THE NATION

DECEMBER 25, 1967 35 cents

Upsala College Library
East Orange, N. J.

The Feast at the Pentagon

SANFORD WATZMAN

'Cease-Fire First' Conversation With a Monk JONATHAN MIRSKY

From RAND to Berkeley

lifornia Draws a Blank HAL DRAPER

D'ARCY McNICKLE STEPHEN ZOLL

Vanished West and Vanishing East

Art and Record Roundups

JOHN PERREAULT BENJAMIN BORETZ

12-17-68 CL9-643
UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
EAST ORANGE
NEW JERSEY 07019

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

to bury the red herring

East Lansing, Mich.

DEAR SIRS: For many of us, an encouraging aspect of the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace ["Labor Meets for Peace" by B. J. Widick, *The Nation*, Nov. 27] was that it seemed a long step toward ending two decades of redbaiting in the labor movement. Sitting side by side with men and women from AFL-CIO unions in the discussions, indeed even appearing as panelists, were men from unions that have been in Coventry for eighteen years —since 1949, when the CIO expelled them on charges of "following th Communist Party line": the U.E., the West Coast longshoremen, even the old United Public Workers, which sent a delegate from their 7,000-member local in Hawaii.

In the hour-long debate on the policy statement, one speaker who was generously applauded when he was recognized by the chair and even more so when he concluded, was Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast longshoremen, and the only international union president at the meeting. . . .

One is tempted to hope, with you, that it may be possible to build a strong minority opposition to the war in the ranks of labor, even, one day, to see the electrical workers, the longshoremen and the others once again participating fully in the councils of the labor movement.

Charles P. Larrowe, Professor of Economics
Michigan State University

without abuse

Amherst, Mass.

DEAR SIRS: Although a letter is not liable to communicate to someone not reached by a book, I should like briefly to comment on Louis Kampf's review of my book, *The Conservative Tradition in America* [*The Nation*, Nov. 20].

I don't complain that Kampf disagrees with me about the contemporary political situation, but I do object to his suggestion that I see the United States as near to utopia. What I indicate in my book is that we are, as a society, *relatively* better off politically, economically and even morally than at earlier times in our history. I say this because of the misery and injustice of the past and not because of any "perfection" of the present. The war in Vietnam is a tragedy; Negroes have suffered and still suffer from cruel injustice. These judgments are in the book but they are decidedly not the center of my concerns.

Kampf rightly identifies my views as social democratic, but he abhors these views so much that he cannot allow me to discuss political ideas rather than politics. I analyze the political ideas of the military and he complains that I do not discuss the political influence of the military. I am aware the military establishment exercises immense influence. Who isn't aware of this? But I meant to point to certain truths not nearly as obvious, namely, that the military are not a separate caste with separate and "militaristic" ideas.

From Kampf's concentration on the present, the reader of the review must assume I dismiss the idea of conservatism from the South simply because Southern literature wasn't conservative, but most of the section on the South is concerned with the family, with political theory and with economics. Similarly, Kampf never acknowledges that most of the book is about the Loyalists of the Revolutionary period, about the Federalists, the Catholic Church, Adams and Santayana, the Humanists and the Agrarians, the Neo-Conservatives, and others who may not interest him but who are, nonetheless, of some interest to me and to other reviewers. . . .

(Continued on page 702)

EDITORIALS

The Nervous Cheerleader

Mary McGrory, Washington columnist, remarks that Hubert Humphrey has been a cheerful cheerleader for the war. This may be an apt characterization of his past role, but things are going to get tougher. The Vice President has now been given the assignment of neutralizing Sen. Eugene McCarthy in his contest with the President. and he is beginning to show signs of uneasiness. Not that the choice is a bad one from LBJ's point of view. Both men are from Minnesota, both are "liberals," both are articulate—Hubert the more so; he is perhaps the world's most articulate man. So if McCarthy is to be put down in good time, Hubert is the man to make the attempt.

But what a wretched assignment for any politician—even one of Hubert's gifts. If he makes one misstep Lyndon will be on his back. And Hubert is apt to step wrong in his new assignment, precisely because a residue of liberalism remains in his bosom. It got him into trouble at the time of the riots last summer, when he began sounding off about a Marshall Plan for the United States. Lyndon didn't like anything that far out; if he sponsored it, he would be open to the charge of rewarding the rioters. He spoke to Hubert.

Recently the Vice President made some ad lib radio comments about bringing non-Communist elements of the NLF into a Saigon government, and the scramble that ensued to correct this wide-eyed blunder extended from the State Department to the office of Dr. Frank Stanton, president of C.B.S.

Then there is the question of a strategy to handle McCarthy. Hubert must sedulously peddle his master's line: Lyndon as The Man of Peace and Ho Chi Minh as The Man Who Won't Come to the Table. Both epithets so lack novelty that the TV audience yawns whenever either is sounded—even those who believe. But Hubert has problems other than being boring about a war in which every lie has been told countless times. He must defend the duly elected government of South Vietnam and keep pretending that it is, on balance, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people—propositions controverted daily by a large section of the people themselves.

What prevails in Vietnam is a puppet government, a client government, led by former collaborators with the French. But the pretense that these are good men and true must be kept up and, in the process, these grafters and mercenaries are given truly enviable leverage for blackmail. If, before the campaign gets under way, Lyndon decides he had better negotiate on equal terms, how will he get the consent of the South Vietnamese generals? And how will Hubert, in his capacity of mouthpiece and explainer, deal with that situation?

McCarthy, no slouch in such matters, is likely to bear down on the proposition that the National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese are perfectly willing to negotiate, given assurances that a permanently divided Vietnam and a continued American presence are not the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sine qua non of the American position. Casting about for an answer, Hubert might retort that the government of Vietnam will not negotiate with the "enemies of freedom." All the NLF and Hanoi need do, in that case, is argue that the enemies of both peace and freedom are in Saigon and express themselves as willing to negotiate with the real power—the United States—provided that it is not intent on staying in Vietnam for the rest of the century.

Given these premises, Hubert has dutifully accepted a job that will become impossible. It is even conceivable that Lyndon will survive McCarthy's onslaught but that Hubert may not.

Is the Elephant Wising Up?

The two-party system does have a limited logic—when it is permitted to work in accordance with its theory, which is that when one party makes a gross mistake the other will offer an alternative. The voters must be given a choice, otherwise what is the use of elections? On this premise, a GOP victory in 1968 might be a good thing for the country. It remains to be seen whether the GOP will avail itself of the opportunity, both for itself and for the electorate.

At this juncture one can only speculate on whether the elephant is invincibly stupid or is beginning to show glimmerings of sense. No more than that is required: the Democrats are obviously in a bad way, and no one knows it better than the Democrats themselves. Sen. Joseph Tydings, a Democrat, recently confirmed the findings of *The Wall Street Journal* on which we commented ("Scavengers of the Press," December 4)—fatigue, malaise, the premonition of defeat; above all, recognition that the party merits a rebuke for the debasement of political ethic into which Lyndon B. Johnson's unconscionable war has led it.

Aside from poetic justice, the practical consideration is that a Republican administration has a better chance of negotiating a way out of Vietnam than have the Democrats, who got us into it on the present scale. Having chosen to escalate, having sent some 15,000 Americans to useless deaths and incurred almost unanimous international obloquy, Mr. Johnson is scarcely in a position to say: "I made a mistake; excuse it, please." And if he negotiates, with the Republicans still supporting his earlier conduct of the war, he will leave himself open to the charge by fire-eaters in both parties that, after such cost, he still failed to achieve victory.

Enough straws are blowing in the wind to give some hope that the Republicans may actually give the voters a break.

Straw No. 1: Richard M. Nixon, his nostrils aquiver, put civil rights ahead of Vietnam in his speech at the National Association of Manufacturers dinner, and in the inner councils of the party he is trying to placate opponents of the war. This gentleman knows where the votes are; his worst enemies cannot deny that.

(2) Nelson Rockefeller, by far the strongest GOP nominee—*if* he can disengage himself from his prior support of the President on Vietnam—has set up a com-

IN THIS ISSUE

December 25, 1967

EDITORIALS

674

ARTICLES

678 "Cease-Fire First": Conversation with a Monk — *Jonathan Mirsky*

682 From RAND to Berkeley: California Draws a Blank — *Hal Draper*

686 The Feast at the Pentagon — *Sanford Watzman*

689 Congo: The Mercenaries Change Sides — *Stanley Meisler*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

692 A Record of the Vanished West — *D'Arcy McNickle*

694 . . . And the Vanishing East — *Stephen Zoll*

694 Animula (poem) — *W. S. Merwin*

696 More Big 1967 Books — *John Perreault*

697 Sonnet XXIX — *Pablo Neruda*
Translation — *Ben Belitt*

698 Records 1967 — *Benjamin Boretz*

700 The Wars of Private Hochhuth — *C. Amery*

701 Films — *Robert Hatch*

702 Television — *John Horn*

703 Crossword Puzzle — *Frank W. Lewis*

Publisher
JAMES J. STORROW JR.

Associate Publisher
GIFFORD PHILLIPS

Editor
CAREY McWILLIAMS

Associate Editor
PHIL KERBY

Executive Editor
ROBERT HATCH

Literary Editor
HELEN YGLESIAS

Copy Editor, MARION HESS; Poetry Editor, MICHAEL GOLDMAN; Theatre, HAROLD CLURMAN; Art, MAX KOZLOFF; Music, BENJAMIN BORETZ; Science, CARL DREHER; Advertising Manager, MARY SIMON.

Washington, ROBERT G. SHERRILL; Paris, ALEXANDER WERTH; London, RAYMOND WILLIAMS; Bonn, C. AMERY; Canberra, C. P. FITZGERALD; United Nations, ANNE TUCKERMAN.

The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Magazine Company and copyright 1967 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel.: CH 2-8400. West Coast office: 1256 Westwood Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024. Tel.: GR 4-2533. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. and at additional mailing office.

Subscription Price: One year, $10; two years, $18. Foreign and Canadian postage: $1 extra per year.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give four weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION
Combined with FRONTIER

Volume 205
No. 22

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mission to study what to do about the economy after the war ends. This is oblique enough, but the association in the voter's mind must be that if the Governor is thinking about postwar problems, he must also be putting his first-rate mind to work on how to bring the war to an end. At the Governors' Conference, also, Mr. Rockefeller, while not opening the door on his availability as a Presidential candidate, did rattle the knob a bit.

(3) The GOP governors are pushing for some larger measure of influence at the '68 convention. They are not pushing hard enough but that may come.

(4) The Ripon Society, a small, university-based group of Republican liberals, expressed concern on December 11 that the Johnson Administration might be planning to invade North Vietnam. They offered little more evidence than the stories that have appeared in the papers and the fact that invasion will be a next-to-the-last resort, but they are not putting their trust in the prudence of the Great Escalator.

(5) Republican members of the subcommittee headed by Rep. John E. Moss have given the Democrats just one more week to make public a report critical of land-reform efforts in South Vietnam. The report has been kept under wraps for two months, and there have been rumors that the White House would like to see it toned down.

(6) Finally, there is the strange case of Senator Dirksen, often referred to as LBJ's favorite "Democrat" in Illinois, after giving loyal service in the same capacity to President Kennedy. The liberal-moderates in the GOP do not like the idea of Senator Dirksen serving as chairman of the platform committee at the '68 convention, and they have begun to make him the target of oblique attacks. He has backed down on school busing and recently joined with Rep. Gerald Ford in saying that "the Congress and the people have seen all too little evidence of genuine effort to explore and exploit the diplomatic opportunities available to us"—to settle the war. Although he is sure of renomination next year, his prestige as a Republican leader in Illinois is waning and he now finds himself in the position of trying to convince Republicans that he is not a Johnson coadjutor.

None of the foregoing is at all conclusive, but it shows that there are some politicians in the Republican ranks who would like to get into power after these lean years. Strategically they are in a good position. They can watch Eugene McCarthy make his attack on LBJ over Vietnam and see what works and what doesn't work. And the voters can watch both McCarthy and his potential beneficiaries. Politicians who cannot take advantage of such openings certainly will not excite the admiration of voters with even average savvy.

The Tailored Press

Again the credibility gap. Ronald Reagan, who holds sway in California, has created a considerable one over the allegation that two members of his staff were dismissed when it was discovered that they were homosexuals. It appears that when the Governor calls someone a liar (in this case Drew Pearson, who had broken the story) he means only that the man has made a statement that might dim the Reagan political star.

But politicians like Ronald Reagan come and go, as do actors like Ronald Reagan. An issue more serious than the Governor's ability to tell the truth under pressure is the apparent willingness of certain segments of the press to edit the news for his convenience. With minor exceptions, the California papers did not carry the Drew Pearson column, and again with minor exceptions they did not unfold the story as Mr. Reagan's attempt to discredit Mr. Pearson boomeranged. At one point, when he was being closely questioned, the Governor said of the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s careful allusions to the Pearson column, "Someone violated what I've been told they were going to do."

What they (i.e., the press) were going to do, it seems, was keep their traps shut. This state of affairs has so alarmed Sen. Wayne Morse that he took the time of his colleagues to protest it at length and with his customary vehemence. Senator Morse is a Democrat, and what particularly exercises him is that the press of the country, which is predominately Republican, applies a political double standard to scandal in public office. He cited the Jenkins case and the matter of gifts to make his point.

But Senator Morse is also a man concerned for the moral health of the country. He referred to the drift of journalism toward monopoly as a particular reason why the citizen should be alarmed by the suggestion that his news is being tailored. One doubts that Mr. Morse, a man of long political memory, sees in Governor Reagan more than a passing threat to the national welfare. But Reaganized news worries him, as it does us. And though he does not say so, we trust that he is also alarmed by Johnsonized news.

Footnote to History

Many observers with experience in power politics have doubted from the first the official story of the attack on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. We know now that President Johnson had already determined to expand the war in Vietnam, and that on the basis of the alleged attack he was able to extract a blank check from Congress —a check which many Congressmen have since regretted signing. The whole sequence was exceedingly pat. Now a participant in the action writes in the *New Haven Register* (December 6): ". . . I maintain that President Johnson, Secretary McNamara and the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave false information to Congress in their report about U.S. destroyers being attacked in the Gulf of Tonkin," and tells in detail what actually occurred.

In August, 1964, John White, now of Cheshire, Conn., was serving as a commissioned naval officer aboard U.S.S. *Pine Island* (AV-12), the first American warship to enter the combat zone in response to the alleged attack on the destroyers *Maddox* and *Turner Joy*. There were North Vietnamese torpedo boats in the area and they used harassing maneuvers. That is not the issue—they had at least as much right to be there as the American vessels. The crucial question is: did they, as charged, actually fire

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shells or torpedoes at U.S. warships? White says flatly that they did not.

He overheard the radio messages from the destroyers supposedly under fire and later spoke with the chief sonarman of the *Maddox,* who was in the sonar room during the "attack." This technician's evaluation of the sonarscope picture was negative, meaning that no torpedoes were fired, at the ship or otherwise. The commanding officer was so informed. "My naval experience as an antisubmarine warfare officer," White writes, "makes it clear that a chief sonarman's judgment in such a situation is more reliable than that of anyone else on the ship, including the commanding officer. No one is in a better position to know than the chief, and in this case his judgment was that there was no attack."

White does not discuss the possibility that the North Vietnamese boats fired something other than torpedoes. But even if they did, no hits were scored, nor could anything but torpedoes pose any real threat to the American vessels. Yet the Pentagon reported to the President that we had been attacked, and the President used the occasion to panic Congress into giving him *carte blanche* to conduct the war in any way he pleased. He now has more troops in Southeast Asia than Truman had in Korea, and the Seventh Fleet is operating off the coast; more than 15,000 American lives have been lost, the war is costing $30 billion a year, Vietnam is being devastated, and war with China is an ever-present possibility. "Let's hope," White concludes, "our warships aren't attacked by Chinese sampans next."

New Voices from the Convent

A dispute that would have been unthinkable in the Catholic Church prior to Pope John XXIII and Vatican I is taking place in Los Angeles. Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, a teaching order, are defying the wishes of James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, the ultraconservative 81-year-old archbishop. At immediate issue are these principal points: freedom of habit or dress for sisters, annual parochial school contracts for the nuns and permission for sixty to seventy sisters to leave the schools next year to complete their education for teaching credentials. Cardinal McIntyre opposes the first two requests and wants the order to cut in half the number of nuns planning to finish their academic training. The order has rejected the cardinal's views, and unless a compromise is reached, 200 sisters will withdraw next year from Los Angeles Catholic schools, already short of teachers.

The educational reform measures are only a part, and the least important aspect, of the controversy. Central to the disagreement is the increasing pressure by the religious, and the laity, for democratic reforms in the structure of the Church. Sister Anita Caspary, mother general of Immaculate Heart, said pointedly: "For the first time our rules have been changed from within and not imposed from without." Later she added: "The key issue is our initiation of experimentation with a new mode of religious life, as authorized by the directives of Pope Paul VI after Vatican II. . . . Provided our life is rooted in the Gospel, ought not sisters, like other women in today's world, be permitted to devise a way of life which fosters diversity instead of uniformity, initiative instead of acquiescence, shared responsibility instead of unquestioning compliance?"

It is a question admirably suited to the issue, and while Cardinal McIntyre exemplifies the adamant old order, new voices for change are raised in the hierarchy itself. Bishop Charles A. Buswell of Pueblo, Colo., praising the reforms of the Immaculate Heart sisterhood, commented recently: "Where there is no tension there is no life, where there is no life there is death, and where there is death, people get buried."

The Dead Horse Walks Again

There should be a proverb which reads: Before kicking a dead horse make sure it will not get up and walk away.

Paternalism in the administration of Indian affairs has been such a dead horse for longer than anyone can remember. Everybody takes a kick at the carcass—editorial writers, members of Congress, even Interior Secretaries and Indian Commissioners—and the carcass regularly rises up and astounds the epitaph writers.

No one will say a kind word for paternalism (every man's hand is against it) and yet every new administration in Washington feels compelled to make a solemn declaration that paternalism in dealing with the Indian people is ended forever. Which leads one to wonder how many times a horse can come to its mortal end. Perhaps it is a matter of semantics: the humanism practiced in one administration is regarded as soft-headed coddling by its successor. But on reflection it seems to be more complicated than that.

The events relating to the introduction and promotion of certain legislation now pending in Congress provide some clues for those who would explore the subject. The Indian Resources Development Act of 1967 was introduced on May 18 by Senator Jackson, of Washington, at the request of Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall. This bill, S. 1816, is beyond doubt the most important single piece of Indian legislation to come before Congress in more than thirty years. In bulk alone it is formidable, consisting of four titles, fifty-some sections and numerous subsections.

One is bound to ask how it reflects Indian purpose, and in what way it breaks with paternalistic practices in dealing with the Indian people.

The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Robert L. Bennett, himself of Indian descent, began his administration by conducting some nine regional meetings through the fall and early winter of 1966, at which he conferred with a total of 153 tribes and intertribal groups, representing both urban and reservation Indians. That the Indians were not reluctant to express their views in these meetings is indicated by the 1,950 separate recommendations offered, many of them understandably duplications.

The results were analyzed by anthropologists Deward E. Walker, Jr., of the University of Idaho, and Bruce J. Rigsby, of the University of New Mexico, and published

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Washington State University (*Northwest Anthropological Research Notes*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1967). The analysis is especially instructive with respect to questions touching on Indian decision making and the familiar father-knows-best approach which everybody, including the present Administration, condemns.

The pending legislation seeks to enable Indians "to participate more fully in American social, economic, educational, and political life; and to permit them to exercise greater initiative and self-determination." These aims will be achieved, Secretary Udall declared in his transmittal letter to Congress, by enabling Indians "to enter the money markets of the Nation to secure the capital so essential to individual and community development."

The main features of the legislation include (1) an authorization of $500 million which, when actually appropriated by Congress, could be used either to guarantee commercial loans, or for direct government loans when private credit is not available; (2) permission for Indian tribes or corporations to finance certain types of public improvement through the issuance of tax exempt bonds, as is done by state and local governments, and (3) increased tribal control over trust-protected resources, including the authority to mortgage and sell tribal land or other assets.

The proposals, in themselves, are unimpeachable. They reflect the kind of program planning one would expect of men trained and experienced in business management and public finance. Unfortunately, they reflect neither the experiences of Indians nor the views and recommendations which were offered at the Commissioner's regional meetings. The legislation would enlarge the opportunity for Indians to enter the market place, but the Indians obviously are looking elsewhere.

We quote what seems to us to be the significant findings in the Walker-Rigsby report:

> Clearly, there is widespread opposition to termination of reservations and a strong desire that treaty rights and Indian land be preserved in their entirety. There is a widespread wish to participate more fully in formulation of policies affecting Indian people. . . . In the opinion of most of those making recommendations, many Bureau of Indian Affairs services need expansion. . . . Industrialization of reservations and maximal development of recreational potentials also were widespread recommendations. Requests for improved water and road systems were numerous, as were recommendations for increased appropriations, services, facilities, and opportunities in health, education, employment, and housing. Increased development of Indian resources was a common request closely related to the equally common request for thorough human resources surveys under government auspices. . . . Finally, virtually universal requests . . . were for expansion of the Bureau of Indian Affairs revolving loan fund and for provision of loan facilities to enable tribes to buy up their heirship land interests for consolidation into tribal holdings.

Nowhere in this listing of priorities can one find a nod or a thumb jerk in the direction of private money lenders or the bond market. The Indians want financing, but they want to do business with the only banker they have ever known, Uncle Sam. And they expect him to operate through their own elected officials and tribal corporations.

Maybe this is wrong. Maybe the time has come for the Indian people to learn about Wall Street and the local Building and Loan Association. The men who drafted S. 1816 obviously had that in mind. They know what is good for the Indian people. Like it or not, that is what the tribesmen are likely to get, if they get anything.

It is a pity though, considering the effort the new Commissioner exerted in obtaining Indian opinion, possibly giving the people to believe that their wishes would prevail—a pity that his legislative experts chose to be guided by their special wisdom and to let Indian experience continue to lie fallow. That has always been the essence of paternalism: the substitution of expert thinking for folk thinking; authority for mutual agreement. The handouts, the free services—which are what the administrators have in mind when they talk of paternalism—are not what render a people dependent on government. It is rather the constant chopping down of the seedlings of community decision. And so, it would seem, we must wait until another administration comes along and promises an end to paternalism.

Heigh-ho! The dead horse walks again.

D'ARCY MCNICKLE

'CEASE-FIRE FIRST'

CONVERSATION WITH A MONK

JONATHAN MIRSKY

Mr. Mirsky, who teaches Chinese at Dartmouth College, is co-author of Peace in Vietnam *(Hill & Wang). Mr. Mirsky was here briefly after his last visit to Vietnam, and then left again for the East, this time to visit Cambodia and Nepal. He has been refused a visa by South Vietnam.*

"You must alarm the people of America. Tell them the United States is fighting not only Communists but Vietnamese nationalists of all religions, beliefs and classes. All of us are in this fight."

Such is the state of mind of Thich Tri Quang, a leading figure in the Vietnamese Unified Buddhist Church. Americans first read of him during the chaotic period before Diem's fall, when the Saigon government began cracking down on the Buddhists who shocked the world by burning themselves to death. In Hue, then (as now) the center of disaffection, Thich Tri Quang appeared in the vanguard of Buddhist resistance. Americans remember him, too, for leading the abortive 1966 Buddhist demonstrations in Hue against the Ky regime, after which he went on a marathon hunger strike while under house arrest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More recently he could again be seen in press photographs, outside President Thieu's office, sitting day after day in sun and rain, protesting the July 18 Buddhist Charter, which gave official sanction to only five of the eleven sects.

During his activities of last year (the uprisings were finally put down in Hue by troops sent north in American planes) Thich Tri Quang acquired a reputation for evasiveness and duplicity which culminated in a celebrated *Time* cover story that thoroughly blackened his character. Since then, not surprisingly, he has given no interviews for publication, confining his conversations with foreigners to old acquaintances and a few peace-oriented visitors to South Vietnam. Since Americans judge the importance of public figures by how often their names appear in the press, his "influence" is said to have "waned."

In the week before the Vietnamese election an elderly Saigon lawyer took me to see Thich Tri Quang. The pagoda lies near a crowded thoroughfare and is still being built. It is invariably crowded with throngs of the faithful who participate in a relaxed way in whatever religious activity is in progress while watching the construction and the monks at devotions.

Saigon is a suspicious place. Americans in civilian clothes are assumed to be working for the CIA. The first time I, a foreigner, appeared in the pagoda, several monks blocked my path, inquiring with forced smiles whom I wished to see. My companion left me with them and disappeared toward the rear. The monks continued to stand in front of me, politely pointing out interesting aspects of the architecture. When I returned the next day, I encountered quite different smiles, and found my way unobstructed into the inner recesses of the pagoda. There I was ushered into a small, unpretentious, cement-floored room containing a desk, typewriter, telephone, bed and a few low stools. In this room the Venerable Thich Tri Quang lives and works. He swept into the room and thrust a double armful of long-stemmed roses into my hands.

Thich Tri Quang is about 40, with a shaved head, large eyes and a wide mouth which produces frequent captivating smiles of great warmth and good humor. If the word "charming" had not been devalued, it would apply very well to him. Relaxed and supple of gesture and movement, at moments when his discourse might throw his listener into profound gloom and even guilt, he suddenly shoots forth a look of dazzling friendliness, indicating that *you* in no way merit disapproval.

Interpretation under such circumstances is critical and was handled in this instance by Thich Tri Hai, a young nun educated in America (when she was still a secular person), who is one of the Venerable's constant attendants—at least when he is sought out by Americans. (At this point it should be made clear, for the last time, that Thich does *not* mean "venerable"; it is the Vietnamese form of Sakya, the Lord Buddha's name, and is adopted by *all* members of the Buddhist clergy. The term "Venerable" refers only to appropriately senior figures.)

Insofar as I won Thich Tri Quang's confidence, it is because my introduction to him came from Vietnamese whom he knows beyond peradventure have no dealings with the American Establishment. Introductions are vital in Asia, but particularly in Vietnam where an indiscretion can result in the death or imprisonment of the subject of your "story." Also, the Venerable had read *Peace in Vietnam*, a book prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, of which I am a co-author. Therefore, when I asked Thich Tri Quang if I could take notes during our conversation, he assented at once, and when our conversations (which ranged over two days) finished he asked me to transmit his feeling to as many Americans as possible.

For forty-five minutes Thich Tri Quang interviewed *me*. He wished to know the influence of the peace movement in America. Were the numbers increasing? Were there many conscientious objectors? (He had asked me very quickly about my own feelings on the draft.) Did our government intend to end the war after the election or enlarge it? How did I feel peace could be achieved and, in particular, how could a cease-fire come about? When my answers were given, he paused and then said: "It seems to me that this war is a personal matter for President Johnson."

The importance of *stopping the war* remained uppermost in all his statements, even when he discussed the American protesters he has met over the years. "In the past I have received numbers of peace groups. I remember one in particular. It was made up of representatives from women's associations, Protestant, Catholic and other religious groups, and professors. I asked them if they were against the war because of compassion, a dislike of Americans dying, or because it is purposeless. They had no clear answer, and I guessed they would not remain firmly opposed to the war. I have heard that when they returned to America many of them gave up and that only those with a strong *religious* conviction continued actively to speak against the war."

Many Americans are puzzled by the activity of the Buddhists and some are troubled by their "worldliness." This fails to fit into our conception of the reclusive monk, withdrawn from mundane matters and devoted only to the spiritual. Leaving aside the occasional hyperactivity of Buddhist monks in other countries and ages (Japan in the 8th century, for instance, was the scene of violent struggles between various sects), it should be remembered that Buddhists in Vietnam have a long history of opposing foreign occupation. From 1885 to 1898, the clergy were in the forefront of the Royalist Resistance Movement against the French; indeed, the uprising of 1898 is referred to as "The Monks' War." In succeeding decades numerous anti-French secret societies—the most famous being the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao—were linked by powerful Buddhist sentiments. In 1963, as is well known, it was the activity of the Buddhist clergy that brought about the collapse of the Diem regime. While it is true that the outward manifestations of Buddhist organization were smashed by Ky's soldiers in the summer of 1966, it would be a serious error to conclude that the *strength*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Buddhists, which is based finally on a faith shared by millions of Vietnamese, has been dissipated. His confidence in the endurance of this faith explains Thich Tri Quang's answer to my question about why the NLF and the Americans both disapprove of the Buddhist Church.

"The main reason that the NLF opposes us is because of our broad following in the countryside; the NLF dislikes any other group with strong support from the population; they know that many peasants follow the Buddhist leaders. This is not the same as the American opposition, which stems from an awareness that the Buddhists represent extreme Vietnamese nationalism and anti-foreignism."

Accurso

Thich Tri Quang

On the subject of negotations and cease-fire, Thich Tri Quang expressed himself clearly and practically:

> To speak of peace means to speak of a cease-fire. Others advocate full-scale negotiations first. Obviously, such negotiations would be held between Washington and Hanoi. The NLF would not be an important participant; in such matters it would be essentially dependent on North Vietnam. I cannot agree with a course of action whereby negotiations must *precede* a mutual cease-fire; the atmosphere at the moment precludes broad negotiations. Everyone is too nervous.
>
> If, however, there should be a cease-fire first, these things will result. First, both Washington and Hanoi can save face. Neither will have to admit any kind of military defeat. Next, although Hanoi might later send troops into the South, Americans and Vietnamese would no longer be killed. Third, and most important, is that with a cease-fire there would occur for the first time in many years a chance for public participation in government. It is very, very important that the people take part in the political struggle. If *negotiations* come first, only Washington and Hanoi will take part and the voice of the Vietnamese people will not be heard.
>
> Vietnamese remember what Kennedy said: "The Vietnamese fought the Communists because they wanted freedom. But under Diem they had no freedom, so why should they fight?" Now the Vietnamese are fighting to *live!* But life is impossible. There must be a cease-fire so the people can feel safe, can live, and can struggle for their freedom.

It seemed natural to inquire whether or not the NLF would take over the country at once if the Americans stopped fighting. Thich Tri Quang's answer to this question showed his awareness of the present stage of the war. Many patriotic, non-Communist Vietnamese are now either in the Front or are considering joining; especially among quite ordinary people, the Communists are seen primarily as resistance leaders, as was the case in Europe during World War II.

Buddhist students, who by upbringing, faith and education are nonviolent, told me in August that they were wrestling with this problem. Two different young men told me with deep anguish that they could now imagine themselves tossing a hand grenade into an American billet. Another leading Buddhist monk, when asked by me what he would say to a youth thinking of joining the NLF, replied: "There are many patriots in the NLF; it is essentially a nationalist organization with Communist leadership. I would say to such a young man that there are many ways for a Vietnamese to do his duty; he should oppose the United States, and if he chooses violence this is very sad, but it may be necessary under the circumstances. Buddhists are Vietnamese; the people and the Church are one. We have responsibilities involving the fate of our country."

Thus, in discussing the possibility of an NLF take-over after a cease-fire, Thich Tri Quang said:

> If people go into the Front, it is because they want to retaliate against the Americans. We Vietnamese laugh when you say you are here to protect us against the Chinese. This may be an *American* reason, but how can *we* take it seriously? Our own xenophobia is sufficient to deal with our enemies. The more anti-U.S. many Vietnamese feel, the more they go into the Front.
>
> But if the people in the countryside were not frightened by the war they would not cooperate with the NLF. If the NLF could totally persuade them it would have happened twenty years ago! The Saigon government has had no influence in most of the country for that length of time—and yet the people do not go to the NLF, in many instances, because they want to keep their religion.
>
> Let me say this: The influence of a cease-fire is great. Look at the cease-fires in the past during Christmas and Buddha's birthday. American soldiers, Vietnamese, and all the world were glad. Everyone, including the Pope, was horrified when the killing began again. If there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were another three-day pause, I believe the war would not resume. People would be horrified.

Just prior to their Presidential election, my Vietnamese friends were in a state of considerable depression, feeling that the last chance for a civilian government with popular support was about to disappear. They pointed to a number of factors: General Duong Van Minh, a past premier of considerable popular following who had been removed from office on charges of attempting to negotiate with the NLF, was not being allowed to return from his Bangkok exile to run for office; Au Truong Thanh, Marshall Ky's ex-finance minister, an official highly regarded by both Vietnamese and Americans, was declared ineligible to run because his cease-fire/negotiate platform was "Communist-inspired." Shortly after the election, General Loan of the Security Police came personally to Thanh's office and took him to Police Headquarters in handcuffs. After an international outcry he was released. (Dzu, the surprising runner-up in the election, did not announce the details of his peace platform until after his approval as a candidate; he, too, has been put under house arrest by the Security Police.)

Another factor in favor of a government victory was the refusal of Generals Thieu and Ky to resign their offices—as the law demanded—in order to campaign. They could, therefore, employ the unparalleled facilities of the central government to call on the district and provincial officials to get out the vote. Finally, the other candidates were limited to five-minute personal appearances in a minority of the forty-three provinces, thus insuring their continued anonymity with the bulk of the peasants. A simple plurality, all that was required, would suffice to return the incumbent military government. (As it turned out, the government was returned by less than 20 per cent of the potential adult voters of South Vietnam.)

It was against such a background that Thich Tri Quang gave me the following analysis of the political situation, before the recent elections:

> The U.S. Government is turning a blind eye to the cases of fraud and dishonesty which are taking place during the preparations for the coming elections in South Vietnam. Fraud and dishonesty are manifested by the following facts:
>
> A free election requires freedom in running for elections. But now there is no such freedom for the candidates. Many Senate candidate lists which appear opposed to the existing government have been canceled.
>
> There is *no freedom for electioneering*. Many provinces have no election posters. The candidate lists which appear to be popular have been torn down.
>
> Many country areas are not under government control. For these areas, false lists of voters have been drawn up to enable substitute voting to take place. In this way they can claim greater control over rural areas than in fact they possess, and can increase the number of voting cards.
>
> The government is well aware that during electioneering and especially after the elections, there will be a strong opposition from the people. Therefore, many forms of terrorizing and sabotage against the opposition have been applied, so that the latter will have no more energy or courage to struggle.
>
> For example: two motorcycles have been distributed to each village so that secret police can go from family to family, giving orders that they must vote for Thieu and Ky if they wish to be safe.

According to Venerable Thich Tri Quang, the U.S. Government is more afraid of the mass opposition which will take place after the elections than is the Thieu-Ky faction in itself, for the following reasons:

- The Johnson government will not then be able to claim that the elections have brought about political stability in South Vietnam.
- The opposition of the Vietnamese people after the elections will bear badly upon the coming Presidential elections in the United States.
- The U.S. President and government are deceiving the American people by distorting the truth about the elections in South Vietnam.

The Buddhist clergy is now facing a grim dilemma; it knows that many Vietnamese are torn between their anti-foreignism—which impels them into the National Liberation Front—and the teaching of their monks, which is based on deep religious devotion. The monks are striving not to seem overly anti-Communist, for fear of being mistaken for allies of the Americans. Since many peasants now turn toward the NLF out of desperation as a means of resisting the Americans, Buddhists, too, must search for ways to appear *both* patriotic and peaceful. This is perhaps becoming easier for them as the American Embassy radiates increasing hostility toward any group that opposes the war. Accordingly, on this subject Thich Tri Quang spoke with the greatest passion, taking my right hand in both of his and looking me dead in the eye when he insisted:

"You must alarm the people of America. Tell them the United States is fighting not only Communists but Vietnamese nationalists of all *religions, beliefs and classes. All of us are in this fight. Your government is deceiving the people about the nature of the war. Besides your NLF enemy, there is a* national front *composed of Buddhists, Catholics and many groups, acting together."*

I asked him if this struggle was already taking a violent turn.

"Not yet, but violence is very probable. There is now a strong anti-American spirit in all elements of our society."

Rather timidly, since one hesitates even to seem to offer advice under these circumstances, I asked him why, since so many Vietnamese worked for the Americans, they did not employ classic methods of noncooperation.

"This is a special aspect of Asian psychology—one can work *for* the Americans and at the same time work *against* them. Even the most humble Vietnamese know why they work for the Americans; you have taken away their food."

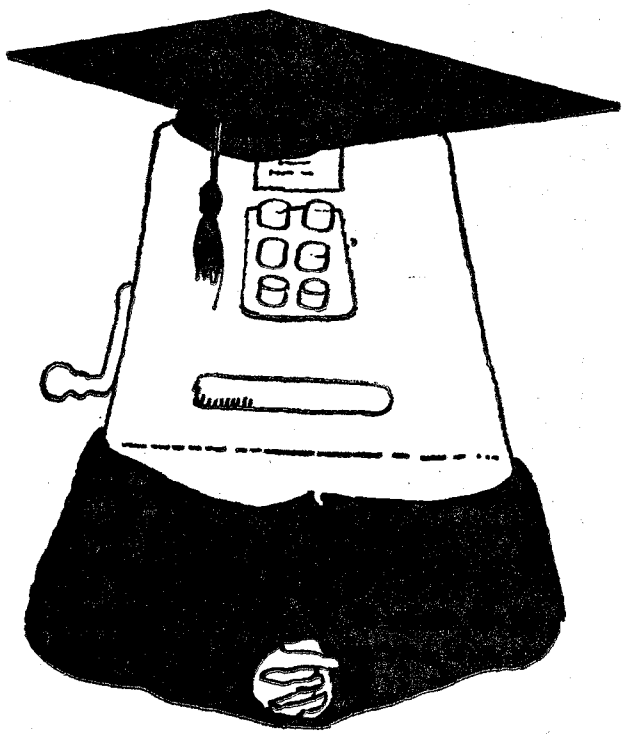
He rose, gathering his white robe about him. "In the name of the Vietnamese people, victims of suppression and dishonesty, I humbly thank you."

Giving me a final flashing smile, he pressed his hands together, and left the room. The following day I heard one of the Americans in charge of pacification say: "If I put Vietnam first, I'd go down to the Embassy and picket for peace. That's what this place needs."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA DRAWS A BLANK

HAL DRAPER
Mr. Draper is the author of Berkeley: The New Student Revolt *(Grove Press). He is an editor of* New Politics *and the* Independent Socialist.



Guindon

NEW UC PRESIDENT—A 'MYSTERY MAN' was the headline in the *San Francisco Chronicle* when Charles Johnston Hitch was named president-elect of the University of California. It was an ingenious try, but there is little mystery about Hitch, about his selection, or even about why the "mystery man" appellation was thought up.

For eight months a Board of Regents subcommittee had searched in vain for a new president to replace Clark Kerr, not a single figure with national standing being willing to accept the post after the way Kerr was fired. On Tuesday, September 19, meeting at UCLA, the Regents committee decided to give up the hunt and settle for the university's Vice President for Administration, who had come to University Hall in September, 1965, as Vice President for Business and Finance.

The next day (to follow the account given by the *Los Angeles Times*'s well-informed education editor, William Trombley) Hitch was notified, and immediately went to Sacramento for a private talk with Governor Reagan before deciding to accept. Also on Wednesday, Acting President Wellman told a meeting of the nine UC chancellors that Hitch was the man. By Thursday the report was spreading through UCLA's halls, and that evening it appeared in the press. But on Friday, when the Board of Regents met formally, some regents had not yet been informed of Hitch's selection and were "pretty peeved about being left out of the whole thing." What with the news also of the secret Reagan-Hitch meeting, a couple of angry regents threatened to vote "no" in protest; but after some palaver they caved in, as usual, and the decision was unanimous.

There probably isn't much mystery even about Hitch's powwow with Reagan. The new president's early test in office will come when the university requests $308 million for 1968-69; and Hitch—especially since budgets are his forte—may have wanted to make sure his throat would not be cut before he got well started.

Officially, everyone hailed Hitch's appointment, even the Faculty Advisory Committee on the presidential selection. There is no record that the faculty's advice was asked; but the chances are that few members remember the bravura moment when they made the demand to have a say in the matter. In fact, the faculty committee's statement even declared its satisfaction that "he meets in all respects the standards set forth in the criteria that underlay the Presidential search." If they are *that* satisfied, they are in a minority, since one of the points made about Hitch is that so little is known about him in areas relevant to his fitness for the presidency of a great university.

"Mystery man," after all? Not exactly. The man simply has no recorded views on the issues. Whether it is student rights, or the "multiversity," or tuition fees, or faculty-administration relations, or pretty much any issue whatsoever about universities or education, Hitch's views are a blank, not only to the public, the students and the academic world but evidently also to the Board of Regents that chose him. And perhaps to Hitch himself. Trombley reported: "Perhaps the most important question about Hitch was asked by one regent: 'He's informed and efficient, but what does he believe?' "

His acceptance speech made the usual obeisance to academic freedom: "Scholars and students must have . . . full freedom of inquiry." And: "If you find a university that is not striking some sparks, you can assume that it is dead." He may even mean it; that will be seen if and when the sparks start flying.

As the *Chronicle* article put it: "Nobody really knows about Hitch because he has been under cover as an expert, a specialist, and not a leader." Under cover? Before surfacing at UC, he was a very public Assistant Secretary of Defense for four years, as McNamara's financial right-hand man, with a booming reputation in circles that followed what he was doing.

That Hitch is "not a leader" is evident enough from the record. His forte has been staff work; more bluntly, he is a natural-born Number Two man. Even before assuming the presidency, he had already impressed observers with his capacity for nonleadership. In a press conference, Hitch made clear that he had asked the regents for no commitments. "I count on the regents to defend and protect the university's autonomy."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since everyone knows that his predecessor was axed by the regents in order to appease Reagan, and specifically by the very clique on the board that chose Hitch, to count on the same regents to preserve the autonomy of the university is something like relying on Lyndon Johnson to keep politics out of the White House. The optimists say that Hitch was merely being conventionally hypocritical, but he probably must be taken at his word when he says he asked the regents for no commitments. It is well known that this is precisely what was not done by various prestigious candidates for the job.

While the new "captain of the bureaucracy" (Kerr's term) is still something of a blur in the public consciousness, let us see what *is* known about him.

Hitch was born and raised in Boonville, Mo., where his father was head of the Kemper Military Academy. The son graduated from the academy in 1929 in his 19th year. (He is still a director of the school today—his only experience as an educator outside of his teaching.) The University of Arizona accorded him a B.A. in 1931. A top student, Hitch spent a postgraduate year at Harvard and won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford. There Queen's College gave him its B.A. in 1934, a fellowship the following year, and an M.A. in 1938. He became general editor of the *Oxford Economic Papers* in 1941.

His war apprenticeship started in the same year. First he joined Averill Harriman's lend-lease mission in London as staff economist. In 1942-43 he served on the planning commission of the War Production Board. Then in 1943 he was inducted into the army, assigned to the Office of Strategic Services (wartime ancestor of the CIA) as a first lieutenant, based in Britain to analyze the economic effects of Allied air raids. By the end of the war (according to a 1965 article in *Science*) he was working on the selection of targets in Japan. (This raises the interesting question of whether he was involved in picking Hiroshima and Nagasaki.)

During all this time he was still formally associated with Oxford. (His *Who's Who* entry of "1935-48" for Oxford has led various appointment hailers to refer to his "thirteen years" of academic work there.) Even after the war he did not immediately return to teaching at Oxford, but became chief of the Stabilization Controls Division of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. In 1946 he returned to Britain but decided not to stay at Oxford and went to Sao Paulo as visiting professor. He quit Oxford formally in 1948, when he discovered the RAND Corporation and vice versa.

RAND was a natural connection for Hitch. This is a good point at which to list his published works. He has written three books, all concerned in one way or another with the economics of war planning, a subject that seems to have captured him early. In the case of his first, *America's Economic Strength* (1941), the topic is not obvious from the title, but this booklet was a popular presentation for a British audience of America's war-making potential. His later books—*The Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age* (1960) and *Decision-Making for Defense* (1966)—were respectively the direct products of his work first at RAND and then at the Pentagon.

The same theme runs through almost all his articles. (I have traced fifteen; no bibliography is available from the university.) In 1939 Hitch was joint author of an article on price theory which was *not* war-oriented. But thereafter, with one clear exception to be discussed in another context, it can be said that all his published articles were on war planning or were war-connected or, in a couple of cases, were theoretical offshoots of his central concentration on war planning.

The two articles he published during the forties were on reconversion from the war economy. The articles of the fifties were based on his RAND work and deal with military operations research (also called systems analysis in its higher-level reaches, or cost-effectiveness studies in its lower). As he wrote in one of these articles: "My own operations-research experience is pretty much restricted to military problems. . . ."

There is no question but that the bulk of Hitch's career has been wrapped up in war planning, at which he is indubitably a very competent technician. The issue it raises is not whether his specialty makes him a saint or a monster but simply whether it is a desirable background for the president of the largest university complex in the United States.

That is also the issue to keep in mind in connection with Hitch's RAND period. He came into the corporation when it was newly organized in 1948. Two years before, Project RAND had been created by the Air Force as an adjunct of Douglas Aircraft. It has been described as an "unprecedented marriage of the industrial and the academic," but it was more a *ménage à trois* of the industrial, academic and military. The direct tie-up with industry did not work: therefore the RAND Corporation was created in 1948 to divorce Project RAND from Douglas. The corporation became an independent think-tank (the first of a breed), operating Project RAND under contract to the Air Force as its main job, but free to take on work for the AEC or other government agencies. As the London *Times Literary Supplement* said of the institution when it reviewed Hitch's RAND book:

> From this and other seminaries there issues a stream of distinguished consultants—Kahn, Wohlstetter, Brodie, Hitch, Kissinger, Bowie, Schelling—who move freely through the corridors of the Pentagon and the State Department, rather as the Jesuits through the courts of Madrid and Vienna, three centuries ago.

In 1948 Hitch organized the economics division of RAND and became its first head. Later he also became chairman of the RAND planning and research council, responsible for planning and directing the research of the whole organization.

As his own province he chose the cost-effectiveness/operations research/systems analysis sector of war planning—more simply defined as the economics of "a bigger bang for a buck." In 1960, Herman Kahn published *On Thermonuclear War*, which created a sensation, and Hitch published *The Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age*, which created no sensation. Hitch was the book's senior author, signing jointly with R. N. McKean, also a RANDster; various chapters were written by other colleagues from the seminary. Hitch's preface explains

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that most of the book was written as part of the Air Force's Project RAND. "The book is virtually a collective product of the RAND Corporation," Hitch told *Business Week*. Theodore White listed it in *Life* as one of the corporation's major contributions. It won the 1961 award of the Armed Forces Management Association; and when Hitch went to the Defense Department that year, it became known as the "Bible of the Pentagon." The Russians translated it for their own use.

Herman Kahn became for a time a public monster, symbol of cold-blooded planning for a nuclear holocaust, and inventor of the "Doomsday machine." And such is the power of symbols, if Kahn were appointed president of the University of California, there would probably be something of a scandal. But as a plain matter of fact, Hitch's book was, and was intended to be, the economic supplement to Kahn's notorious study. The two books were reviewed together more than once. The *New Statesman* bracketed them as dealing "respectively with the strategy and economics of nuclear policy." (In a burst of revulsion, the reviewer cried that "books like these should be treated as pornography, within the meaning of the act.")

A good deal of one chapter in Hitch (Chapter 17) is explicitly based on Kahn. To get the Kahn flavor, one need only turn to the very end of Hitch's section on "Recuperation Possibilities" after nuclear war:

> When allowances are made for defective and inaccurate missiles, it is clear that to demolish 80 per cent of United States capital would require a large attack. It goes without saying that this level of destruction would be catastrophic. And yet, if the initial period of disorganization and hysteria could be bridged, the survivors could probably get an economy going again.

That's all; end of discussion—with the characteristic upbeat.

The complete content of Hitch's thinking on war policy, in this book, as in his articles, is Massive Deterrence by the Balance of Terror (his terms)—that is, H-bomb pointed against H-bomb as the foundation of peace. Disarmament he treats in several places as virtually meaningless. He assumes, with Kahnian aplomb, that the United States must make certain of "our ability, under all foreseeable conditions, to destroy the attacker as a viable society." He writes matter of factly that "It should always be our policy to spend whatever is necessary for defense." His summary of the future is: "perpetual partial mobilization." It can at least be said of Hitch's views in this field that they are all of a piece.

Just as Kahn can be a broad-minded liberaloid, even as he "thinks the unthinkable," so Hitch is no devilish warmonger. His mind-set goes with the job. He has merely made it his life task to figure how many bombs are needed to kill how many cities; how many dollars pay for enough missiles to destroy a society; what is the cost-effectiveness of incinerating a population here or erasing an industrial region there. Put it this way: as long as capital punishment is maintained, there has to be an executioner; but would you want your daughter to marry one? In this case, should a university marry one?

In 1958 (*before* joining the Defense Department) Hitch wrote down a very realistic view of the role of people like himself:

> Economists now serve handmaiden roles in most operations research organizations. . . . Paradoxically this role for the economist is more important in military and other governmental areas than in industrial operations research.

This handmaiden image is evidence of the man's modesty, but it is hardly calculated to dispel fears that Hitch is better trained by his experience to become a servant of the regents than a leader of the university.

Impressed by his RAND work and RAND book, McNamara in 1961 brought Hitch into the Defense Department, as assistant secretary with the title of comptroller. There, by all accounts, he did an outstanding job of reorganizing the budgeting and financial planning systems of the department for greater efficiency. McNamara gave him full support against the hard-nosed Pentagon types who referred to him as "that bookkeeper and his whiz kids." *Business Week* listed him among the main "Planners of the Pentagon."

Installed in offices on the executive ring of the Pentagon, just down the hall from McNamara, Hitch defined his job: "My problem, as I see it," *The New York Times* quoted him in 1962, "is to get the most of what we spend. How much we spend is Mr. Kennedy's responsibility, not mine." Just a technician: he *thinks* as a handmaiden. But it must not be supposed that his Pentagon work was limited to juggling dollars in a narrow sense. Indeed, the Hitch "revolution" in Defense Department procedures was precisely in terms of integrating strategic and budgetary planning. There were reports that McNamara had so much confidence in him as a war planner that he gave him assignments outside the budgeting chores, including one of heading a task force on strategic warfare. Hitch's position was so solid that Pentagon oldtimers who resisted his changes were cashiered. Or so Hitch told a *Newsweek* interviewer: jerking a thumb toward the window, he explained: "Some of those who objected or resisted got rotated out."

During all these years, in the Defense Department as at RAND, Hitch's written and public utterances reflected unquestioning agreement with the standard mentality of the Pentagon. As he wrote in his 1966 book:

> There is no question but that the systems analysis groups working within the defense establishment tend to take on the philosophical coloration of their sponsoring organizations, if for no other reason than that they are exposed to the same environment and same influences.

The observation could be autobiographical. All his published references to Southeast Asia are simplistically hawkish, though not extremist. In 1963, when a research group headed by Seymour Melman published a report on the tremendous percentage of "overkill" built into U.S. war planning, it was Hitch who was assigned to answer Melman, in a defense of the Pentagon's overkill capacity.

On leaving the Pentagon for Berkeley, Hitch was signed to a consulting agreement by the Defense Depart-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment—"mainly to keep my security clearance alive." Alive for what? Though the Berkeley faculty recently voted against the university's accepting any more classified research, Hitch will likely be the "cleanest" university president since Eisenhower presided over Columbia.

What are Hitch's views on social questions other than how to get the biggest bang for a buck? It is characteristic of his books and articles that little of this comes through, except as already mentioned.

There is one outstanding exception. In 1957 the outgoing president of the Operations Research Society of America, Prof. Russell Ackoff, made a retiring presidential address enthusiastically advocating that operations-research experts should devote their talents to something other than military planning—namely, to national planning, particularly in underdeveloped countries. Ackoff himself had just spent a few months doing that in India. It would seem a natural proposal for the field.

Yet right at that meeting, and following up with an article in the society's journal, Hitch made a sweeping attack on the whole idea of applying operations research to national planning. More than that, he assailed the very idea of national planning itself (for India, for example), counterposing reliance on price-regulated market mechanisms. The "philosophical coloration" is evident: the new discipline could be used for war and it could be used for industry, but it must not be used for planning a nation's peace and prosperity.

Hitch had not always been of this mind. I have not yet mentioned his very first publication, in 1938: not his own work but an "American edition," which he edited, of *Introduction to Economic Analysis and Policy,* by the eminent British economist James E. Meade. The title, which sounds like another economics textbook, is deceptive. Meade's book is a strong programmatic plea for socialism, including socialization of monopolistic industries, the banks and other sectors of the economy. In fact, the program advocated is far more radical than the present position of the Labour Party. Nor was Hitch's contribution narrowly editorial: besides "Americanizing" the terminology (including changing the term "socialization" to "public ownership"), Hitch also did some revising of the text in collaboration with Meade—thus taking on responsibility for the contents. It can scarcely be doubted that he agreed with it at the time.

Does Hitch's appointment to the presidency of the University of California illustrate a trend? A theory, which I would not dare put forward myself, was presented in Theodore White's *Life* series of last June on "The Action Intellectuals." White offers a long celebration of the intellectuals who have become government brain trusters: "the new priesthood," "the most . . . propelling influence in all American government and politics," "the drive-wheels of the Great Society," "the new elite of American scholars." "From White House to city hall, scholars stalk the corridors of American power," burbles White. (What gives it away is that word *stalk*: it is the thirteenth bong of the clock.) A gallery of these exalted intellectuals is presented, with full-color portraits; Hitch is fifth.

Who are they? First there is half the Cabinet: Rusk, McNamara, Katzenbach, et al. Then come the academics proper: Jerome Wiesner, Hans Mark (of Berkeley's Lawrence Rad Lab, who complains that his work in making nuclear bombs more efficient "wins no applause from our colleagues," but who stoically "endures the obloquy"), McGeorge Bundy, James Tobin. Hitch is next, followed by many others, including Walt Rostow.

Here is the point that emerges from the rhapsody: according to White, this phalanx of court intellectuals is moving out into the country. RAND's graduates "have left to spread their way of thinking at Harvard, M.I.T., Chicago—even to France."

> Those who see a brain cartel inexorably taking over the nation's thinking can trace . . . neat and precise interlockings and directorates.

McGeorge Bundy's trajectory is traced from Harvard to the White House to the Ford Foundation. Carl Kaysen's, from Harvard to RAND, to the White House, to Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. Dean Rusk's from Mills College, to government bureaus, to the Rockefeller Foundation, to the State Department. (It gets to sound like *The Red Network.*) And, not least:

> Charles Hitch goes from Oxford to RAND to Yale and to RAND again . . . [to] the Defense Department at the Pentagon, then emerges at Berkeley as a vice president of the University of California.

White's style may be overrich, but about this vision of a "brain cartel inexorably taking over the nation's thinking"—*is* there a tendency for the intellectual handmaidens of the Establishment to act as a loosely interrelated fraternity, moving into the power slots connecting the governmental and military bureaucracies with the universities, foundations and think tanks? It is interesting that the thesis, though couched in more journalistic terms, is closely related to Clark Kerr's analysis, in *The Uses of the University,* of the stratification of the university-multiversity. If the image is modified from White's almost conspiratorial vision of a take-over to that of a social trend—fusion of state and academia—the hypothesis becomes less sensational but not less disturbing.

Certainly, the Hitch appointment symbolizes the fact that a great university's president, in the opinion of its governing powers, does not have to have any substantial background as an educator. Trombley reported:

> Hitch agrees with a chancellor who said, "You don't understand this job until you understand this is no longer a university in the classical sense but a system of higher education with coordinated, independent parts."

If it is not a university ("in the classical sense"), then clearly you don't need a university president at all ("in the classical sense"). If it's a *system,* you get yourself a systems analyst instead. You get a very efficient operations engineer, to oil the coordinated, independent parts. From the other (Stanford) side of the bay, the *Palo Alto Times* opined that Hitch's "appointed role seems to be to make UC run with a high-powered, quiet purr."

But is that what the University of California community wants? It is true nobody asked them; but if the "classical" university is not entirely dead, there may yet be some sparks amid the quiet purr. Then we may see what Mr. Hitch is about.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FEAST AT THE PENTAGON

SANFORD WATZMAN
Mr. Watzman is a reporter in the Washington bureau of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Washington, D.C.

Behind Defense Secretary McNamara's official boasts as to "cost effectiveness" and "buying only what we need" and "buying at the lowest sound price," is the reality of war profiteering on a scale so vast that the private taxpayer can scarcely grasp the figures. The recent disclosures of Rep. Otis G. Pike (D., N.Y.) dealt with nuts and bolts—mere pickings from the great table.

The incomparably greater feast in large defense contracts is well documented, nor is it challenged (or for that matter reported or even acknowledged) by the press officers around McNamara. They have evidently been ordered not to publicize the Pentagon's responses to charges that began to gain limited circulation last April, before Pike uncovered his smaller scandals. McNamara has fought a battle of news releases with Pike, who succeeded in getting the attention of the national media, but the Secretary chose not to advertise reforms he has been promising on the other front because to do so would reveal to more people that a second and more substantial front *does* exist.

The Secretary of Defense is the world's biggest spender. He is shelling out more than $46 billion a year (or $125 million a day) on military purchases—a figure which makes defense procurement the largest single item in the federal budget (25 per cent of it, at least). A little-known, highly technical fair-pricing law is supposed to protect the public against being overcharged for this war materiel. It is the Truth in Negotiating Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-653) which, were it adequately enforced, would buttress the famous McNamara slogan: "Buying at the lowest sound price." But the law has *not* been adequately enforced. Rather, spread across public records is evidence of derelictions so broad in scope as to appear incredible. Not only has the Pentagon allowed itself to be fleeced on individual multimillion-dollar contracts but it has also been guilty of unbusinesslike practices that in many cases seem to make overpricing inevitable.

The Truth in Negotiating Act does not cover the innumerable but relatively trivial routine transactions cited by Pike—purchases of small gadgets, gears, clamps and knobs for thousands or hundreds of dollars. The law, aiming much higher, applies only to purchases starting at $100,000. Its principal targets are the huge weapons systems: ships, missiles, bombers, bombs, detection and communications networks.

For years, the General Accounting Office (GAO), an investigative arm of Congress, has been criticizing the Pentagon in barely readable reports, weighted with the jargon of auditors, for not implementing the "Truth" Act. [See "The *Putsch* Against McNamara" by H. L. Nieburg, *The Nation,* December 26, 1966.] Although many of the reports were made public, they received scant attention from Washington newspaper men who, by and large, seem to prefer the McNamara handouts. The tastes of the press corps are perhaps accounted for by the fact that the Pentagon is crawling with press agents, while GAO had not even one on its payroll until the first was hired early this year.

But when the Cleveland Pneumatic Tool Co. was accused by GAO of overcharging the Army about 10 per cent on three contracts totaling nearly $2 million (under circumstances bespeaking negligence by Army procurement officers), the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* took notice. Its Washington bureau examined a number of other GAO reports, and in April the paper published a series of articles, with follow-ups during the rest of the year—all of them ignored by the news establishment of the Eastern seaboard.

Sen. Stephen M. Young (D., O.), a Clevelander and a member of the Armed Services Committee, was shocked by what he read. He ordered the articles reprinted in the *Congressional Record* and demanded an investigation. Rep. William E. Minshall (R., O.), questioned Pentagon witnesses about the stories at a closed-door hearing of the Defense Appropriations subcommittee, and in May, Sen. William Proxmire (D., Wis.), chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and of its Economy in Government subcommittee, added the Truth in Negotiating Act to an agenda of public hearings that had been called to check on Secretary McNamara's housekeeping. With only one Senator, Stuart Symington (D., Mo.), a former Air Force Secretary, not concurring, the bipartisan panel issued a report in July censuring the Defense Department for "a disturbing record of loose management" and a "lackadaisical" attitude toward the Act. The Pentagon was accused of "a serious and comprehensive lack of compliance" with it. In September, additional hearings were held by the Special Investigations subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, which had drafted the law. The Joint Economic Committee resumed hearings in November.

No one knows how much money has been thrown away on fatty contracts, and GAO will not even hazard a guess. The agency will say only that, over a ten-year period, it detected a total of $130 million in overcharges, and recovered $72 million for the government. But no projection is possible from these figures because they are based on haphazard spot checking. GAO has acted only on complaints or tips, ignoring all but a few of the 30,000 procurement transactions consummated each day. Another weak clue was afforded in GAO testimony given last July to a subcommittee headed by Rep. Chet Holifield (D., Calif.). It stated that a survey of 101 contracts selected at random during a ten-week period in 1965 turned up thirty-three cases of overpricing—with an average of $100,000 and a total of $3.2 million. The contracts involved purchases adding up to $446 million. Again, a GAO official cautioned against generalizing on the basis of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

either the number of contracts or the amount of dollars, since both projections could be misleading. Two years ago, the former Army Audit Agency guessed that $1 billion in pricing proposals could be "questioned." A more recent Pentagon estimate is $1.8 billion. But GAO has come up with no evidence to sustain, bolster or knock down these figures.

The fact is that GAO, part of the legislative branch of government, has neither the resources nor the responsibility to enforce the law. It is the Defense Department, a unit of the Executive branch, that has the constitutional obligation to make certain that the law is obeyed. Compared wih GAO, the Pentagon has a vastly superior staff of auditors. GAO has repeatedly urged that these auditors be unleashed, but until pressures built up just recently McNamara kept delaying his decision to order a comprehensive contract audit program. (One wonders how much income tax would be collected if the Internal Revenue Service refused to audit returns, or if it were known to ignore whole classes of returns.)

The "Truth" Act is necessary because competitive bidding is not feasible for major military purchases. Modern weaponry is so intricate that usually only one plant, or at best a few, can produce what's needed by a given date. The Joint Economic Committee reported that in fiscal years 1948 through 1966, 86.2 per cent of military buying was based on negotiated contracts. "During this period," the report said, "the 100 largest companies and their subsidiaries annually have received from 63 to 74.2 per cent of the part awarded to business firms. The ten largest concerns and their subsidiaries annually have received from 26.6 to 38 per cent of the business. Fifty per cent of the volume in each year has been awarded to a minimum of eighteen firms and a maximum of thirty-six."

The Pentagon keeps a different set of statistics. McNamara pictures a steady increase in the number of competitive contract awards, reaching a high of 44.4 per cent in fiscal 1966, but GAO officials point out that all purchases of $2,500 and less "are reported as competitive even though many are not." In fact, a GAO survey established that two out of every three procurements of this type had been falsely labeled competitive. The Pentagon's rebuttal, in testimony given the Joint Economic Committee, was that the automatic classification simplified its bookkeeping. Whatever the true figure may be, the Defense Department acknowledges that it does a large amount of buying from corporations that hold effective monopolies or oligopolies on certain items. So when bargaining with these companies under the Truth in Negotiating Act, the Pentagon supposedly obtains assurances—in fact, a certificate—that material and labor costs, cited by the companies in support of their prices, are based on "accurate, complete and current" data.

The "Truth" Act has had an interesting history that is perhaps best understood in the context of President Eisenhower's warning about the "military-industrial complex." Throughout the postwar period, GAO checked defense contracts at random, repeatedly finding cases of inflated cost estimates. By 1959 the Pentagon was persuaded to promulgate a regulation requiring a "truth" certificate. But GAO kept nosing about, and discovered that the Pentagon was not enforcing its own regulation. In file after file, GAO found no certificate.

In 1960 the Truth in Negotiating Act was introduced by Rep. Carl Vinson, then chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, in an attempt to add force to the regulation by ensconcing it in statute. When the Pentagon objected (on the ground that the bill would hamper negotiating flexibility), the legislation died. Two years later it was introduced again, and this time passed: 362 to 0 in the House and on a voice vote in the Senate. Then the law was promptly forgotten by everyone except GAO.

Robert S. McNamara

The Congressional watchdogs were not satisfied. Though the law was already on the books, they kept turning up new cases of profiteering, and firing off reports which in many instances named the offending corporation and detailed the Pentagon's derelictions.

Then came a strange interlude. The corporations complained, charging that GAO was damaging their reputations before the charges against them could be adjudicated by the Armed Forces Board of Contract Appeals. Through their lobbyists, they were able to set up an extraordinary series of public hearings in 1965 at which GAO itself—rather than its findings—came under investigation. Representative Holifield presided, as chairman of the House Military Operations subcommittee. The hearings received almost no notice in the press.

GAO officials found themselves in a delicate position. As agents of Congress, they had been free to criticize the Pentagon, but at this confrontation with their bosses, many of whom were obviously sympathetic to the con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tractors, tact was required. The hearings concluded with GAO assurances to Holifield that it no longer would issue Truth in Negotiating reports on individual companies except in unusual cases. Instead, GAO would concentrate on examining *groups* of contracts to measure compliance with the Act, and these summary-type reports would name no names.

Actually, GAO officials were not unhappy about this new reporting strategy. Their attitude was that recent reports in the old style had been largely ineffective, and they reasoned that a new approach might pack more punch. As it turned out, they were right.

Although GAO stuffed the hearing record with examples of overpricing, Holifield and his colleagues were not greatly impressed. They made no real attempt to determine how the eighteen-month-old law was working, or whether it needed strengthening. Defense Department witnesses also had very little to say on this point. (Early this year, Pentagon officials complained to *The Plain Dealer* that the law was "imprecise," but they conceded they had never asked Congress for clarifying amendments.) The Holifield group held no further hearings on the subject until it suddenly called one last July, evidently to vindicate its own vigilance and to pillory the *Plain Dealer*.

Meanwhile, GAO made sensational disclosures in the new summary-type reports issued in 1966 and 1967—except that they were bound to be over the head of anyone not familiar with the subject. One report told of a check of 242 contracts, worth a total of $600 million. The "Truth" certificates were in the files where required, but there were no supporting documents to indicate what the certificates were based on, and GAO objected that the certificates should not be accepted on faith. In other cases, where evidently no certificate was needed because of certain exemptions in the law, there was nothing in the file to explain and justify the dispensation. Only twenty of the 242 files were complete. Also noted was the absence of the Defense Department's Form 633—a questionnaire which, if properly filled out, would have supplied much of the information needed. A GAO inquiry established that the Form 633s were gathering dust in a warehouse. They had not been distributed to Pentagon contracting officers across the nation. (This at a time when the Department was spending $125 million *a day!*)

Another summary report revealed that McNamara's staff was accepting contractors' cost estimates without requiring them to establish formal cost estimating systems. For ten years the Pentagon's own auditors had been emphasizing the necessity of curbing such guesswork. Some of the auditors' reports were choked by red tape. Others were ignored or receded from view. Still others were fated to become a basis for more studies and more reports. But none was adopted until GAO blew the whistle early this year.

Still another summary report disclosed an examination of 237 construction contracts involving a total of $128 million. Rather than making a careful analysis of the contractors' proposals, GAO said, the Pentagon merely compared them with the government's cost estimates. "We noted, however, that when the proposal was greater than the government estimate, the government estimate was often raised—on the basis of information obtained during negotiations—to equal or exceed the price negotiated." GAO found in other cases that the government estimate was not a good standard for comparison because it was not organized in the same way as the contractor's proposal. Another finding was that the Department accepted contractors' estimates without requiring them to submit verifying data.

These summary reports raised eyebrows (and hackles) at the Joint Economic Committee hearings in May. Senator Proxmire and his colleagues were incredulous. They asked Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats, head of GAO, about the need for formal cost estimating systems. "This goes to the heart of negotiations," he replied. "Unless the government has some basis for estimating what the costs are going to be, the negotiations are going to be one-sided."

"Do you mean to say," Proxmire demanded, referring to another GAO report, "that the Pentagon had no system for checking back on contracts—to determine whether it had been cheated—until you prodded them into adopting such a program?" "That's right, sir," Staats replied. William A. Newman, an aide of Staats, interposed: "It's just impossible for us [at GAO] to audit all these contracts ourselves. We're pecking at it as best we can. But they have 3,600 auditors over there at the Defense Department." Further testimony revealed that the incipient audit program contained a large loophole. The Pentagon still had not decided (it was chewing on this issue when it appeared before the Holifield subcommittee two years earlier) whether to post-audit a category of contracts that covers most major procurements and is known as the Firm Fixed Price (FFP) contracts. "In the time it is taking the Pentagon to ponder this problem," Proxmire asked, "how much money has been lost to the taxpayers?" "There's no way of knowing," said Staats.

Shortly after the Proxmire hearings, the Defense Department announced new regulations requiring careful documentation of "Truth" certificates. In another development, Representative Minshall on June 6, introduced legislation to close the FFP loophole. Minshall's bill (H.R. 10573) is in the form of an amendment to the Truth in Negotiating Act. Proxmire dropped an identical bill (S. 1913) into the Senate hopper. A third reaction was an order to organize "seminars" on the law at procurement offices around the country. Five years after the law was passed, a concerted attempt was to be made to explain it to Defense Department personnel.

But then the summer lull set in. Minshall's bill was referred to the House Armed Services Committee, where it languished while the Pentagon delayed taking a stand. But Senator Young and Rep. Charles W. Whalen, Jr., a freshman Republican from Dayton, O., stepped in to keep the controversy alive. Young made a speech in the Senate entitled " 'Private Letters' on War Profiteering." He said: "I have continued to look into this problem and have had a great deal of research and investigation made. I am

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sorry to report I have found many additional cases of profiteering—cases uncovered by GAO but not reported to Congress and the public, as most are. Frankly, the dimensions of this problem are even greater than I first supposed." Young had obtained from GAO data on individual corporations—that is, reports of the kind that were routinely made public prior to the Holifield hearings. Although he did not name the corporations, since they had not been given an opportunity to reply formally to GAO, Young revealed that one Ohio company had racked up a 42 per cent profit on one contract by padding the price $143,681. Among other overcharges cited by Young was one of $1.6 million and another of $1.5 million. Many of these corporations won contracts even though GAO had accused them of overpricing in earlier cases. In the House, Representative Whalen made a similar speech, citing additional examples of swollen contract prices. Whalen, a member of the Armed Services Committee, also announced that he was joining Minshall as a sponsor of H.R. 10573 and would try to recruit additional sponsors on the committee.

On September 18, Minshall turned his anger on McNamara. "He has been stalling more than three months," the Congressman charged in a statement. "I introduced my legislation June 6, and there has not been a word from him since. What's he afraid of? That action under my bill would turn up more cases of multimillion-dollar overcharges—chiseling that could have been prevented had McNamara strictly enforced the Truth in Negotiating Act?" One week later, hearings were opened by the House Armed Services Special Investigations subcommittee, headed by Rep. Porter Hardy (D., Va.), with Representative Pike as its ranking Democratic member. The panel made it plain to Defense Department witnesses, who arrived with nothing new to report, that it agreed with Minshall.

McNamara finally got the message. On October 2, Assistant Defense Secretary Thomas D. Morris delivered personally to the offices of Minshall and Proxmire a copy of a new Pentagon order commanding audits of Firm Fixed Price contracts. Now, Morris suggested, the Minshall and Proxmire bills were no longer needed.

But the two lawmakers have not agreed to a cease-fire. They have said that they will continue to push for passage of their bill They know, from a study of GAO reports, that the Pentagon does not have a distinguished record of carrying out its own regulations.

Representative Pike brought out one reason why the Pentagon will have difficulty convincing the Congressmen of its good intentions. At his subcommittee hearing, he asked Charles M. Bailey, deputy director of GAO's defense division, whether he knew of even one case where a Defense Department official had been fired, demoted or otherwise disciplined in an overpricing case. Bailey's answer was "no." The controversy will no doubt continue for some time to come.

CONGO

THE MERCENARIES CHANGE SIDES

STANLEY MEISLER
Mr. Meisler, Africa correspondent of the Los Angeles Times, *is a frequent contributor to* The Nation.

Nairobi, Kenya

The white mercenaries of the Congo, now in rebellion, have humiliated black men everywhere in Africa, and by doing so shattered some of the self-confidence that Africans need to run their affairs well. Moreover, some Africans have struck out at whites to assuage this humiliation, and the beatings and killings have torn relations between white men and black men over the continent.

These are terrible consequences. Yet it is pointless to condemn these confused, aimless and distorted men. Their role in the Congo was created by others. The rebellion of the mercenaries was the legacy of an attempt by the United States Government to stage-manage the unmanageable Congo. Using them worked for a while; then they flew out of hand. Why blame them?

The present group of rebellious mercenaries first came to the Congo in 1964 with the support of the United States Government, then as now the most powerful and significant outside influence on the Congo. It was prepared to do whatever it could, even to the point of supporting mercenaries, to help Moise Tshombe, the new Prime Minister, put down a leftist rebellion in the eastern Congo.

Officially, the State Department said it could not condone Tshombe's use of mercenaries, but there are reliable reports that the United States took part in the original planning. And whether or not it was in at the start, the United States openly maintained the mercenaries, flying food, equipment and ammunition to them in four U.S. C-130 transport planes and three H-34 helicopters. Washington also gave the Congolese Air Force five B-26 bombers, flown by CIA-hired Cuban refugee pilots and serviced by CIA-hired ground crews, to support mercenary attacks upon the rebels. When the mercenaries took over Stanleyville, after the American-Belgian parachute drop in November, 1964, Maj. Michael Hoare, the mercenary leader, decided to live in the abandoned American consulate there.

Without the mercenaries, the Congolese army would probably have failed to put down the rebellion, and the Congo would have splintered. In a sense, their use was not unusual. Many African armies employ white officers, mostly on loan from European countries. Nevertheless, the presence of mercenaries in the Congo incensed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

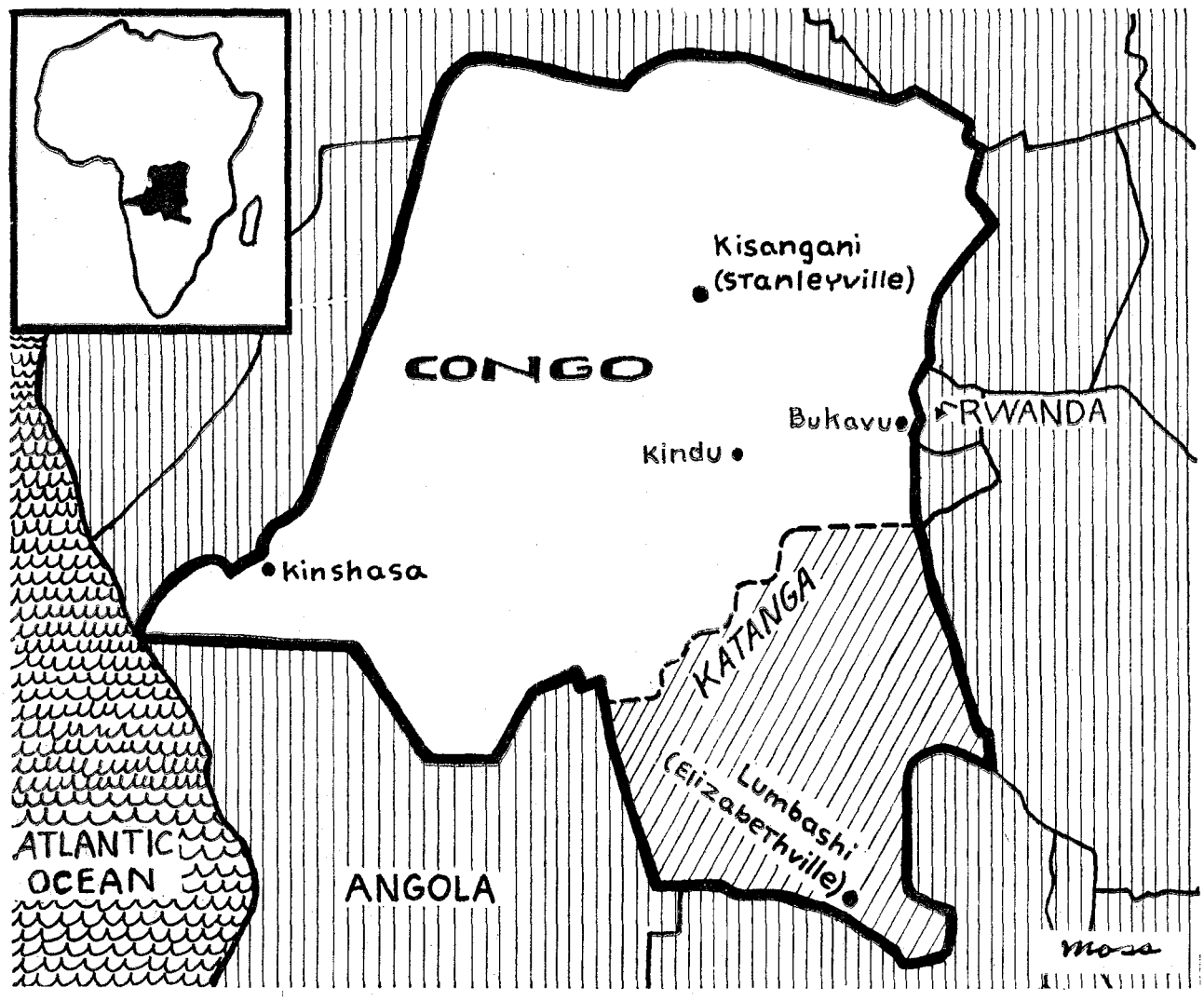
African nationalists, their anger stemming in part from sympathy for the rebels but mostly from disgust at the way many mercenaries vaunted their white supremacy. Several made no bones about the pleasure of killing Kaffirs for a buck. It humiliated Africans to feel that stability in the Congo depended on racists.

By 1967, the mercenaries had become more an embarrassment than an asset. Save for a few bands here and there, the rebels were defeated. In addition, President Joseph D. Mobutu, branded as an American stooge and an accessory to the murder of Patrice Lumumba, wanted to repair his image among African nationalists. He started to disband the mercenary units, to get them out of the Congo before September, when the Organization of African Unity was to hold its summit conference in Kinshasa.

Foreseeing the end of their adventure, the mercenaries decided to switch sides, and agreed to take part in a plot to overthrow Mobutu. According to sketchy evidence, the organizers of the plot were associates of Moise Tshombe, then living in exile in Madrid. The plot was mad. It encompassed the sabotage of the railway carrying copper from the Katanga mines, a mutiny by mercenaries in the east, an attack by new mercenaries elsewhere, the proclamation of a Congo Free State, and the return of Tshombe. But in the massive, undisciplined, impossible Congo, it might have worked.

By the end of June, the railway had been struck by four explosions, one crumbling a bridge east of Mutshatsha. Several new mercenaries, recruited by agents of the plotters in Rhodesia, had flown into Kindu. This was groundwork for a coup still some months away. Then Tshombe was kidnaped. At gun point, Francis Bodenan, a French croupier turned Congo agent, forced the pilots of Tshombe's plane to land in Algiers. The embarrassed Algerians imprisoned him.

The abduction caught the white mercenaries in the Congo with no patrons for their wild plan. Led by a Frenchman, Col. Bob Denard, and a Belgian, Maj. Jean Schramme, they decided to plunge into action much sooner than planned. At dawn on July 5, six days after the kidnaping, the mercenaries rebelled in Kisangani (the former Stanleyville), Bukavu and Kindu in the eastern Congo. The mutiny began with carnage, the mercenaries spraying two camps of the Congolese army with submachine gun



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fire, killing scores of soldiers and their wives and children.

The Congolese Government panicked at the uprising. Mobutu declared a state of emergency and restricted the movement of whites. The Congolese radio broadcast anti-white diatribes around the clock, entreating the Congolese to kill their foreign enemies. All this unleashed the anger and bitterness toward whites that had long been building up in the Congolese.

In Lubumbashi (the former Elizabethville), Congolese soldiers found whites on the street between 6 and 7 P.M. on July 6, the first night of the curfew on whites. The whites were confused because some announcements had said that curfew would begin at 6, while others gave the deadline as 7. The soldiers took nine whites into the woods at the edge of town and executed them, with their bayonets.

At first, the mercenaries fared badly. The small unit at Kindu failed to take the town. Mercenaries captured Bukavu but abandoned it and headed north, having misunderstood an order from their leaders in Kisangani. Though Kisangani was taken easily, the mercenaries met some unexpected resistance. Instead of running, a few Congolese soldiers fired mortars. Denard was wounded in the head and evacuated to Rhodesia.

Schramme then became colonel and commander of the mercenaries and changed the character of the rebellion. As a British mercenary put it later, "The trouble with Schramme is that he's an idealist, and there's no room for an idealist in a mercenary army." Unlike most of the hired white soldiers, Schramme has roots in the Congo. He went there in 1944 as a boy of 14. At independence, he owned a plantation of coffee, rubber and palm oil in the eastern Congo. With Schramme at their head, the mercenaries were led by a confused visionary who talked in vague, diffident tones about remaking the Congo and replacing Mobutu with a stable, representative government that included Tshombe. He did not see himself as the hired hand of plotters but as a prophet cleansing the Congo through turmoil.

Schramme withdrew from Kisangani, regrouped with the mercenaries who had mistakenly left Bukavu, and trekked through the eastern Congo picking up whites who were threatened by the hysterical soldiers of the Congolese army. During these weeks, the Congolese radio boasted that its soldiers had trapped Schramme, his 160 white mercenaries and their allies, 1,000 African soldiers who had been gendarmes in Tshombe's secessionist Katanga province. But, on August 9, with the Congolese soldiers scampering away from the onrushing mercenary force, Schramme shocked the Congo by seizing Bukavu, an old colonial resort town in the hills alongside Lake Kivu.

The mercenaries led more than 100 white refugees across the bridge that leads from Bukavu to the little country of Rwanda. Then they returned to celebrate their romantic triumph with caviar and champagne stolen from the stocks of the town. In the flush of victory, Schramme decided to keep Bukavu and wait for a revolution. He evidently expected it to break out in either of two ways: The chaos caused by his march—whites fleeing, mines shutting, crops rotting—might ignite the hostility toward Mobutu. Or, if that proved not enough, more chaos could be provoked by an invasion of Katanga by Denard and other mercenaries assembling in Angola.

But Schramme and his men waited in vain for three months; the revolution never came. The mercenaries grew tired and testy with one another and with Schramme. Their bickering arose from the pointlessness of their life and the uncertainty of their future. Even mercenaries want to know occasionally where they are going and why. Moreover, they received very little pay while awaiting Schramme's revolution. Many wanted out.

By October, the Congolese army, with the help of American transport planes, had put at least 5,000 men in the hills commanding Bukavu. They bombarded the mercenaries and Katangese with mortars. The mercenaries, while troubled by these continual attacks, were still contemptuous of the Congolese soldiers. Schramme toyed and hesitated, negotiating with Red Cross officials who were trying to arrange an evacuation at the request of the Organization of African Unity.

In early November, the mortar attacks intensified, and the Congolese soldiers rushed at Bukavu. Schramme radioed to Angola. Denard and a group of mercenaries invaded Katanga in what looked like the long-awaited thrust designed to ignite the revolution. But it was evidently only a diversionary tactic. While the Congolese Government shouted about the trouble in Katanga, Schramme and his men withdrew from Bukavu into Rwanda. According to diplomatic reports, Denard and his men then slipped back into Angola.

With this chapter of the mercenary adventure over, an outsider can try to draw a few conclusions. The first of these is that administering the massive Congo is a hopeless task. The lumbering, luxuriant Congo is too big, too cruel, too unnerved to be managed by an incompetent and emotional government in Kinshasa. The mercenaries have shown that any small group of armed adventurers can snap the Congo into chaos almost at will.

In view of this, something must be wrong with an American policy that always shores up the central government of the Congo, however inefficient, childish or hysterical it may be. But it is not easy to prove it wrong, for on the surface the policy seems successful. By sending the mercenaries in 1964, the United States helped to end a savage rebellion, whose bloodthirsty leaders were unfit to rule. By opposing the mercenaries in 1967, the United States calmed the Congo somewhat and convinced the rest of Africa that Americans are heroic anti-imperialists. Yet these recent successes seem hollow when it is realized that the troubles they mitigated were caused by the earlier success. The Congo is a quagmire for the United States; every step sinks it deeper. Every American move to pull the Congo out of turmoil seems only to prepare the ground for a new round of turmoil.

Finally, the reaction of the Congolese to the rebellion revealed for a moment the bitter sense of inferiority and resentment of Africans toward whites in Africa. Of course, the Congo differs from the rest of Africa; in some ways, in fact, it is a parody of the continent. Yet the terrifying attacks on whites there may be a foretaste of more intense terror to come. The mercenary rebellion was ugly; the consequences may some day be uglier.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

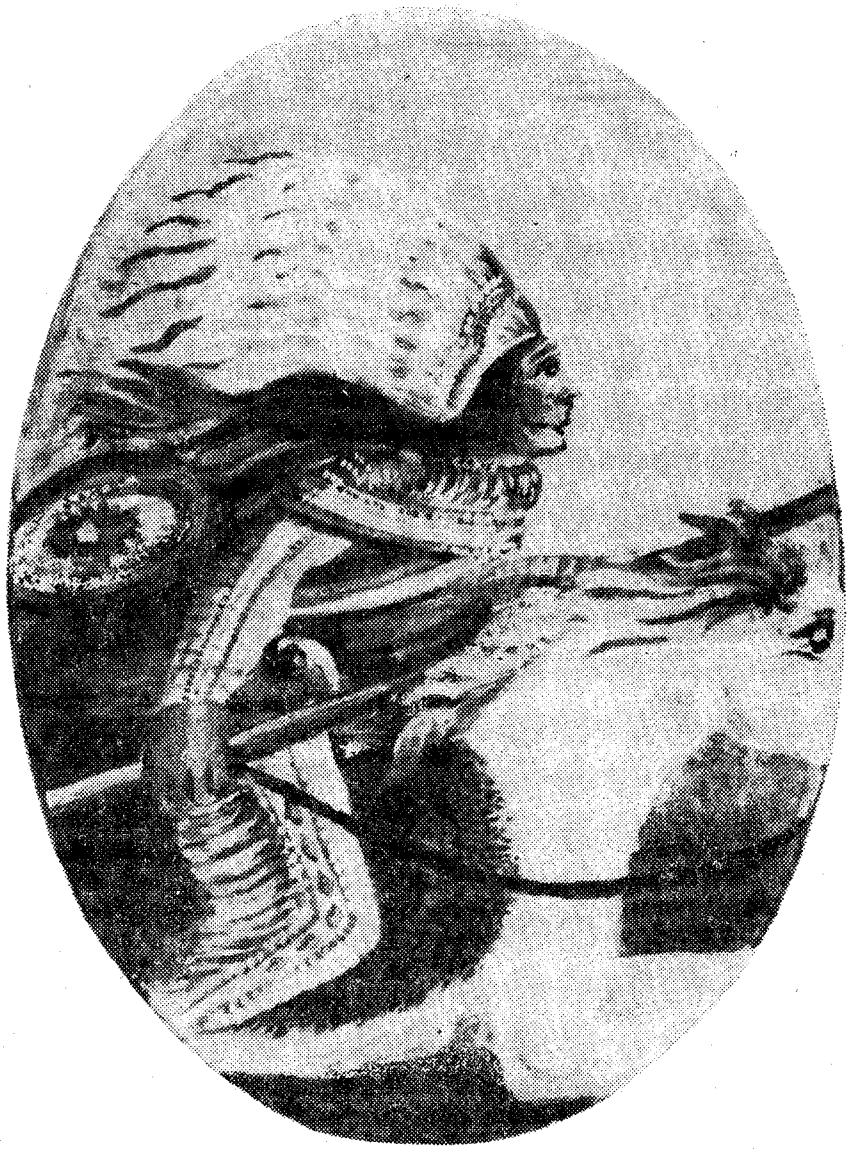
BOOKS & THE ARTS

A Record of the Vanished West

WILDERNESS KINGDOM: Indian Life in the Rocky Mountains, 1840-1847. The Journals and Paintings of Nicholas Point, S.J. *Translated and introduced by Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J. With an appreciation by John C. Ewers. Illustrated with 280 maps, drawings and paintings, 230 in color. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 274 pp. $17.95.*

D'ARCY McNICKLE

Mr. McNickle is a member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes of Montana. He is a professor of anthropology at the University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, Canada, and the author of The Indian Tribes of the United States: Ethnic and Cultural Survival *(Oxford University Press).*
[*See editorial page 677.*]



A Painting by Father Point of a Brave in Ceremonial Dress from Wilderness Kingdom

The journals and paintings of Father Nicholas Point present a rare conjunction of the primitive. The author-artist, an unschooled peasant-priest, recorded in childlike color and form the lives of preliterate hunting tribesmen of the American Northwest during the past century. The product, in text and sketch, suggests that the parties, European and Indian, were about evenly matched. Neither had a superior understanding of the other, and it is to be wondered what either learned from the other.

Wilderness Kingdom is in any event an extraordinary, original document, rescued after 100 years of oblivion in "a large dusty box" in the archives of a Montreal Jesuit school. The task of translating the handwritten French text and of obtaining acceptable color prints, which the editor Father Donnelly describes for us, was arduous and often discouraging. The result is a sumptuous product of the printer's art. The color rendering is especially remarkable for bringing out detail which otherwise would be lost in murky overlayers of pigment. The penciled sketches, being less cluttered than the essays in color, are often more revealing as documentary records of the vanished West. Occasionally Father Point encouraged the always curious Indians to try their hand with brush and paper, and as a result we have a number of Indian-eye views of what the white man looked like. These colored drawings are among the most charming in the entire collection.

The circumstance which called Father Nicholas Point to the Northwest as a member of the Jesuit mission organized by the renowned Father Pierre Jean De Smet was born of illusion and miscalculation, and in the sequel the Jesuits and the Indians were in a sense both victimized by their own enthusiasms.

It is a matter of record that Indians from the Northwest traveled to St. Louis on several occasions during the years 1830 and 1840. Who these Indians were and what the purpose of their journeys, have been matters in dispute ever since. The editor's introduction does not reduce the confusion but only perpetuates some questionable assumptions.

In the earliest references to these Indians they were described as members of the Flathead tribe, a branch of Salish-speaking Indians inhabiting what is now western Montana. News stories of the period played up the astonishing report that these tribesmen journeyed to St. Louis seeking teachers who would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

instruct them in the Christian faith. The stories spread all the way to New England and stirred up a wave of missionary activity.

Recent historical studies cast doubt on the identity of the tribe from which these pilgrims traveled. The party may have consisted of Nez Percé Indians, who inhabit an area just across the Bitterroot Mountains from the Flathead country—or it may have been a mixed party from both tribes. They were friendly neighbors who went on hunting and war parties together and intermarriages were frequent. It is perhaps significant that when Presbyterians went to the Northwest in 1836, five years before De Smet's party left St. Louis, they established a mission in the Nez Percé country.

As to the motives which inspired the Indians to seek the white man's religion, that too was a source of misunderstanding. Three different Christian sects—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic—reacted to the report of salvation-seeking Indians who had traveled on foot all the way from the Rocky Mountains. Various explanations were offered to account for this unprecedented journey by savages living in "moral darkness." The version followed by the editor in the Introduction to *Wilderness Kingdom* is the one commonly recited by Catholic writers. Other sects modify the details to account for their particular involvement. All are written from the same viewpoint—that of the white man responding to a cry from the wilderness.

The episode has been studied by several ethnologists who were interested in discovering in what ways contact with white men, direct or indirect, affected Indian life. What emerges from these studies is at least as interesting as the version offered in *Wilderness Kingdom,* and it tells us a good deal about the Indians of the Northwest who otherwise, in Father Point's journal, are seen as rather incredible forest creatures.

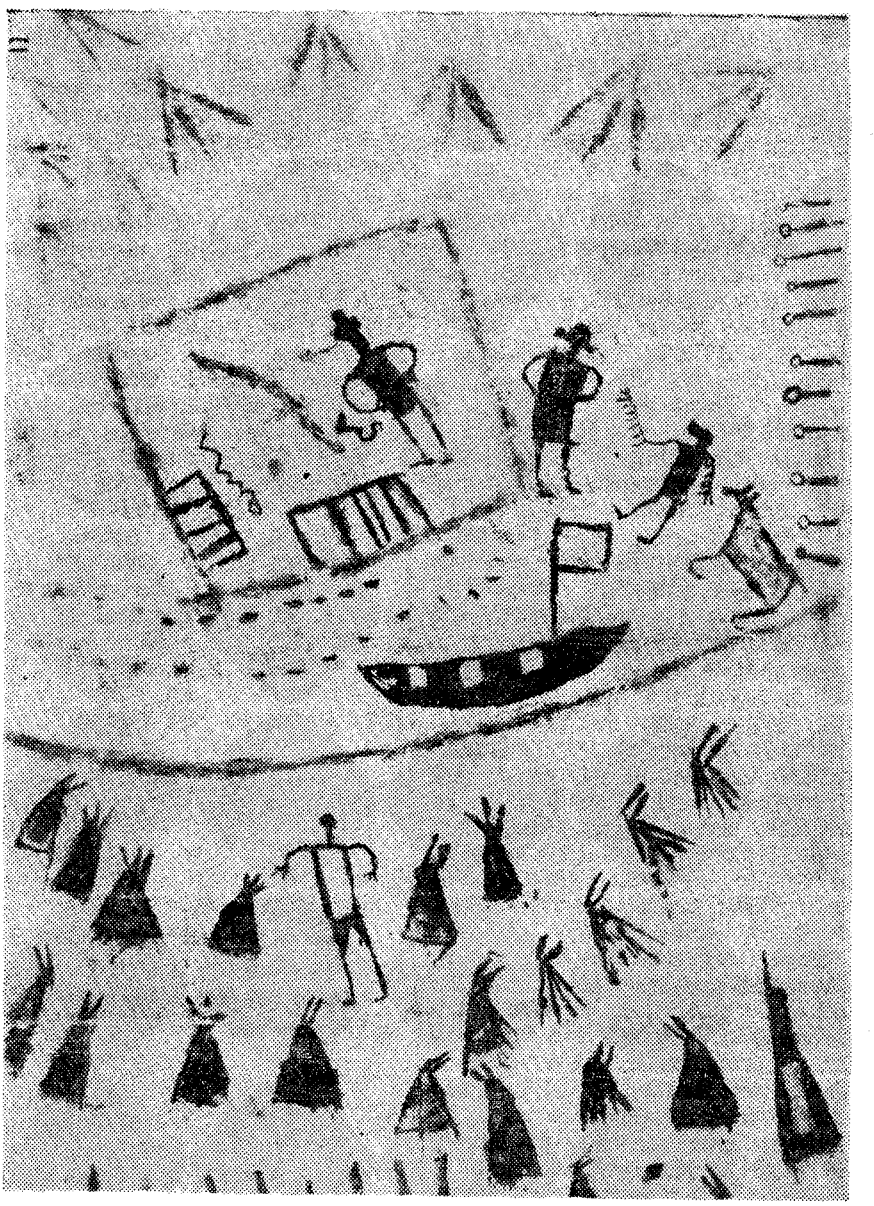
Long before the Nez Percé-Flathead journey to St. Louis, the tribesmen of the interior plateau country had heard rumors of a new age to come, of new beings. Perhaps these were echoes from many miles away and many years back in time, of contact between Indian and white far to the east and to the north. According to what was told by Indian visionaries, life would be different. The world would be made easy. Sometimes the word was to the effect that the world would be destroyed, then renewed. The dead would return and everything would be in abundance. The people must prepare themselves by performing certain dances and behaving in certain ways. An explorer on the Columbia River in 1811 found an Indian going through the motions of blessing his people by sprinkling water over their heads—a priestly act which gave rise to the place name Priest's Rapids on the river.

The Indians who went to St. Louis in 1830 and thereafter were in a changing world. The Blackfeet to the north of the Flathead and Nez Percé people were closer to established trade routes and therefore obtained guns first. They made life miserable for their gunless neighbors. The Sioux and Crow pushing up into the Northwestern plains disputed the buffalo grounds with the mountain tribes. If these latter were to survive they had to find new magic, new power: the iron pots, the steel axes, the thunder sticks which made the white man so all-powerful.

They brought the priests to their country in high hopes—what Father Point interpreted as "mutual and profound joy."

The disillusionment came for the Flatheads a few years later when they discovered that they were expected to abandon the very patterns of life which they were trying to buttress. They were to dig and plant the soil and become white men!

The mission which had been established with such enthusiasm in 1841 was abandoned in 1850. The priests had discovered by then that the Indians, like other men, rarely make it to heaven on the first try.



An Indian Letter Sent to Father Point. An Illustration from Wilderness Kingdom, *a Journal of a Missionary's Travels in the Northwest Territory 125 Years Ago.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

. . . And the Vanishing East

LOST NEW YORK. *By Nathan Silver. Houghton Mifflin Co. 242 pp. $12.50 until December 31; $15 thereafter.*

STEPHEN ZOLL
Mr. Zoll's articles have appeared in Dissent, The Village Voice *and* The Nation.

You can predict far more accurately the moment when a building will be torn down for economic reasons than you can forecast with any certainty the frequency of seismic destruction. Earthquakes throughout the world are recorded at the rate of 60,000 tremors a year, involving 14,000 fatalities. This obviously outdoes any puny efforts of man-made clearance. Nevertheless, you have to give the unbuilding of the Metropolitan Opera high marks for thoroughness. It is difficult to say whether the recurrence of economic or seismic forces are more natural; both are hard on those who appreciate stability.

Lost New York is a heartbreaking list of casualties in the battle between the economic flux-mongers and the cultural order-doctrinaires. One side has all the titles and deeds; the other side has sustained all the losses. Generally speaking, a building in Manhattan can be demolished and the site re-used on a cycle of about every twenty years. Not every building—not the ramshackle affairs such as old-law tenements, 43,000 of which, built before 1901, no one knows how to get rid of today short of earthquake. But the structures built with care, excellence of design and materials, and a style that speaks of a pride in status are, unfortunately, the most vulnerable to replacement.

Nathan Silver has illustrated over 200 of these casualties in *Lost New York*, which also supplies an example of every kind of building of any distinction that had been demolished so that the land on which it stood might be used for a newer, bigger, better, more urgent or more profitable replacement. The Met was eighty-four years old, the Vanderbilt mansion forty-seven, the Senator Clark House twenty-three. The twenty-year replacement cycle is a principle, not an accurate measure. Here are some of the reinforcing rhythms of the twenty-year cycle: a building's 5 per cent annual depreciation for tax deduction is 100 per cent used up in twenty years; construction is usually financed by a twenty-year loan, and when the loan is paid up, the land may well be more valuable as equity in a new venture than is the building as security on a refinanced loan; prestigious addresses for status buildings, if chosen wisely, would appreciate quickly because of the subsequent attraction of prestigious neighbors, but the pioneer building may end up underscale and outshone in twenty years' time. The twenty years is only a possible interval of flux, and given the dead loss of such specifically used and short-lived status symbols as both sets of World's Fair buildings, the average may be brought down below that. The first Plaza Hotel made way for the second at age sixteen.

These are some of the non-architectural forces involved in unbuilding that have caused *Lost New York* to become a rich, full compendium and Mr. Silver to become a recording angel. It is impossible not to be on his side and to deplore waste and the impermanence of excellence. Unbuilding a great city quickly becomes a matter of morality and the recording angel cannot help but also become a guardian angel: but a sword of flame, to mix a metaphor, can become a double-edged hot potato.

When a good building survives beyond a twenty-year maturity despite its self-imposed vulnerability, the criteria of its survival are more stringent than for less specifically designed and auspiciously located buildings. But Silver, interested in imposing order, and attempting to maintain the premise that excellence should be immutable, considers the morality of change rather harder than he does the criteria for survival in a free market. He sets up too neat an opposition between the bad guys of flux and the good guys of stability. Stability, by this token, means cultural stability: buildings as history and the citizen allowed to locate himself within his citizenship and his city by the record of the past surrounding him. It can be said that stability exists in the city's slums in the south Bronx, Harlem and central Brooklyn, where mile after mile of decaying buildings, nated by their dwellers, are nevertheless still worth more than the land they are built upon, and therefore cannot be replaced—not even, apparently, with federal subsidization. Depressing as these unchanging slums are now, the buildings were far from impressive even when new.

Prestigious buildings are meant to impress; that is one of their uses. The Singer Sewing Machine Company, now the diversified Singer Company, Inc., occupied a delicate building with wrought-iron decoration similar to the scroll work on period sewing machines. It still stands, 12 stories high, at 561 Broadway. Outgrowing it in 1908, the company built the then tallest building in the world at 149 Broadway. The location faded as a prestigious address until the renaissance of lower Manhattan with the building of the Chase Manhattan Plaza, by which time the company was at Rockefeller Center. U.S. Steel is now tearing down the 47-story Singer Tower to replace it with a monument of their own. The Singer Company's removal from two excellent buildings, which Silver places in a prophetic section called "Landmarks in Danger," illustrates the decision to demolish inherent in the relative value of land and buildings. The first Singer Building survives, even after it lost its power to impress, because its site occupied an economic backwater and did not appreciate out of proportion to a second use (commercial subdivision) that was found for it. The second Singer Building is being demolished because, no longer useful as a monument to Singer, the value of its land soared and demanded prompt re-use.

Similar to a geologic fault, there is an economic fault: the rift between land and property. An earthquake is caused by the violent movement of the ground on one side of the fault relative to the other. Demolition is caused by the movement of land appreciation relative to the building's value. The more specific the use for which a building is designed, the more violently will the building's value fluctuate. When the lines on the graph pass each other as steep and speedy verticals, the conservation editorials in the newspapers begin.

Lost New York is a collection of ghosts. The author's accomplishment is to make a record of the vanished past, commend it for its style, lament its passing, and see if it is possible to get a little scare value out of the historical shades. However, this is a historicism with traps. Silver quotes Le Corbusier in order to argue with his dictum that

ANIMULA

Look soul
soul
barefoot presence
through whom blood falls as through
a water clock
and tears rise before they wake
I will take you

at last to
where the wind stops
by the river we
know
by that same water
and the nights are not separate
remember

W. S. MERWIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the permanent condition of New York is change; this is an argument one cannot win. Even to save somebody else's monument rather than to replace it, a second use would have to be found more valuable than the first to offset land appreciation. If such re-uses of buildings could always be found or invented (against the logic of history) this change, too, would bear out Le Corbusier's vision of New York.

In his introduction, Silver outlines a program to stop demolition by legislation. Laws would include landmarks preservation of buildings as historical objects even if there were no immediate re-use; zoning permissiveness to legalize area-wide, revivifying potential re-uses; and tax favoritism within a zoning area so that buildings could be operated on a more comfortable margin. The purpose is to conserve land use to improve individual building values. But building replacement is a result of appreciation — not depreciation. It would be just as useful to legislate against earthquakes.

When change does occur, Silver wants it to overtake only the weakest elements of the city, the undistinguished parts that no one could miss. Just try to get a mortgage there; banks are not pioneers; they stick with the winners of whatever twenty-year cycle is current. Imagine a map of New York with the number of times each site has been built on coded to a color: dull blacks and grays for low numbers and bright primary colors for the more rapid and repeated building successions. There will be an overwhelming correspondence of the brightest colors to the tallest, best-designed and specifically used buildings, tenants with the best credit ratings, available financing and rapid land appreciation.

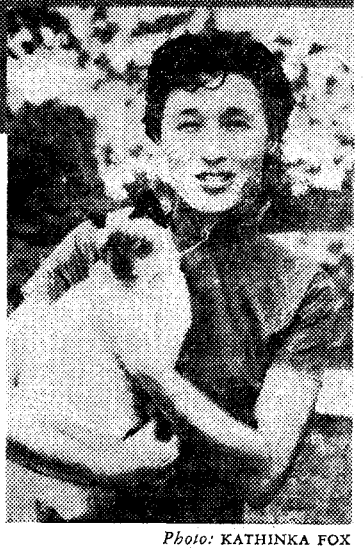
There are, of course, acts of great criminal substitution. Built for World's Fair crowds, the Summit Hotel and motley West Side motels survived the diminished demand for hotel rooms, but the Astor succumbed; and the new Madison Square Garden (prominent among whose builders was the brother of the then City Planning Commissioner) was encouraged to replace Pennsylvania Station. If legislation can serve an improving function it would have to take a larger view than the way each building looks. To insure that rebuilding is never a downgrading of urban function and to avoid entrusting aesthetic judgment to the law, the concept that every separate plot of land is sovereign needs to be subjugated. A start was made in taxing the Seagram Building's plaza for the prestige value accruing from that non-income-producing use of the city's land. A greater precedent could have been set at the intersection of 52nd Street and Sixth Avenue. Those new buildings on each corner do not work together or enliven the city as do the walks, shopping mall and skating rink interconnecting the towers of Rockefeller Center. No attempt was made to integrate the massive, practically simultaneous rebuilding by dealing imaginatively with the roadways that split what might have been a unified plot.

The impermanency of real estate should have as a corollary that the land temporarily built upon is only loaned, whoever holds the title, and only on certain conditions. Perhaps a formula could be worked out measuring the respect shown for the city by the plans of a building seeking Building Department approval. This would take into account the likely number of jobs created for the building's tenants, the number of square feet of residential space demolished that might have housed those workers, a coefficient of gain figured out over the previous use of the land, which color of the land re-use map was being exploited, and so forth. Concessions could be granted allowing valuable variances from zoning restrictions.

The danger of *Lost New York* is that its logic arrives at the accusation that the city wantonly destroys itself, even though one must admit that the economic engine of change has steadily created more jobs, a larger tax base, and greater services to its citizens. For instance, in the twelve years between Mayor Wagner's first budget and Mayor Lindsay's, municipal expenditures rose from just under $1 billion to just over $4.5 billion. Such sums can be a red flag inspiring the co-accusation against urban change that New York is nothing but a monument to money. In the making of money, it is acknowledged, human values tend to be forgotten; but it may be too easily acknowledged. A good deal of the sentiment against change and the death of any single building is a reaction to the presumed motives of the monger behind its execution. In comparison with Silver's cultural testament ("the basic things in the city, the truthful things measured by human experience, though not necessarily those most clear and well-ordered and visual"), the builder's motives are selfish and inadequate. Some vanished buildings are, by any consideration, lamented beyond their value in order to pass judgment upon the profiteers of their doom.

But New York *is* a monument to money. Passengers on the Circle Line

Bertrand Russell: "Miss Han Suyin has written an important book about the least known Great Power. I am recommending it strongly to everyone."
U.S. Senator George McGovern: "Han Suyin speaks from a unique background of experience and education. Her views on China should be thoughtfully considered."



china
IN THE YEAR
2001
han suyin

$5.95

At your bookstore, or
BASIC BOOKS, INC., 404 Park Avenue South, N.Y. 10016

Photo: KATHINKA FOX

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boat trip around Manhattan are treated by the barker to superlatives of size, weight, number of windows, height and cost. It is impossible to look at the Manhattan skyline and not think of wealth. Even Henry Adams wrote with passion about the financial aspects of three centuries of cathedral building. Real estate and corporate profiteers *do* stalk the streets thinking only of aggrandizing present opportunities and not of how to conserve past glories. Are they more nakedly greedy than such sympathetic city stereotypes as the European immigrant, or the Broadway stage aspirant, or the dreamers clerking in a bank here rather than for lower wages in Binghamton or San Juan? The city's power of attraction is precisely the action of the economic engine and that one can aspire and work for status, space, a private fortress or a public image.

Silver has used an abstraction to connect the building-by-building inventory of what has been lost to the relationship between the citizen and his city. He states that the city is a record of culture and the citizen locates himself within it as he is able to see it spread out, the oldest buildings and the newest, before him. But to speak of the city in terms of such assigned abstractions is sentimental. Mumford's "in the city time becomes visible," is grandiloquently romantic about only secondary effects and characteristics.

There is a greater discontinuity in American cities than is represented by the lamentable loss of even a couple of hundred good buildings. This discontinuity is unmentionable. For a politician to truthfully describe the city's problems today with both accuracy and a practical plan for solution would be willful suicide. Imagine applying Emma Lazarus' poem on the Statue of Liberty to an analogous monument at the bus terminal. Northern cities have absorbed 5.6 million of rural Southern blacks and Puerto Ricans. If today's immigrants were welcomed with the patronizing allusion to "wretched refuse," there would be pickets around City Hall in less time than it takes to misspell a signboard. The glory of New York was that it was the place where the opportunities were good, the competition tough, the prizes great; where competition achieved status, money, security, housing, and assurance that children would get more than their parents had. A good deal of this assurance, housing and security is now attempted by the swollen municipal budget. In the past, immigrants from Ohio and the Ukraine became the middle class because their labor was needed; it was modestly or inadequately compensated, and it served, in many cases, as an investment to finance the city's growth. Today's immigrants are finding a different city. The technology of the industries represented by the prestige buildings is beyond primitive skills. Such labor is not needed, and the city's growth is being called on to finance the assimilation of a disadvantaged class.

Lost New York is a marvelous museum of a book. As a museum, its text constitutes probably the most intelligent set of display cards ever written. Silver has researched diligently, selected carefully, and presented it all artistically. This was old. This was good. This was unique. But as a book, it has not accepted the condition for all museums: this is past.

It no longer may be possible to complain about the destruction of distinctive real estate in the face of other urban problems. First, it may be irrelevant, in the instance of the Brokaw Mansions, whether we have the present vulgar building on the site which is deemed profitable, or the old vulgar ones, deemed historical. And second, clearance or wholesale flux may be the only solution to the greatest problem: keeping the city viable. Urban Renewal by Title I clearance was noisily declared to have failed in 1961; and the concept of rehabilitation aided by the same federal millions of dollars in write-downs and long-term, low-cost, 100 per cent loans, rental supplements and experimental grants, must be considered, so far, also to have failed. The pendulum is probably about to swing back.

Some day soon, the nation will inevitably free itself to turn to the renovation of the cities. Up to $25 billion annually might be reappropriated for this work. Then perhaps the mold of the old city might be broken; perhaps not only buildings will go but the grid itself can be opened up, loosened, made to generate greater land values, and create enriched human values. There is more than enough national wealth to add to the concept of clearance the justice of compensation. In fact, adequate compensation, even lucrative compensation, is the principle behind the replacement of one prestige building with another, bigger one. Compare this with the principle behind clearance under Title I eminent domain: the sacrifice of the supposed few for the never materializing many.

Without repeating the litany of the present urban ills that start with pollution, paralysis and the burden of riders and subclauses on the Social Contract that is the lease governing occupancy of this city, it seems as though the earthquake is upon us. And that isn't altogether a bad thing.

More Big 1967 Books

JOHN PERREAULT

Mr. Perreault, who is a poet and the regular art critic for The Village Voice, *has prepared this additional listing of books for gifts [see* The Nation, *December 18].*

ARTIST'S PROOF: The Annual of Contemporary Prints, Vol. VII. Edited by Fritz Eichenberg. 96 black-and-white illustrations. Pratt Center for Contemporary Printmaking in cooperation with Barre Publishers. 128 pp. $12.50.

The print in all its old forms and in many new forms (three-dimensional, plastic, silk-screen paintings and vacuum molds) is, since Pop, ubiquitous. This lively annual of contemporary prints is most informative about the revolutionary rebirth of an art form particularly suited to a mass society. Art critic Michael Benedikt's lead essay, "The Contemporary Print: From Feedback to Forecast," clarifies this new phenomenon, pointing out the immense but so far undeclared influence of Pop artist Andy Warhol. Prof. Fritz Eichenberg writes on "Lissitsky and the Russian Avant-Garde." There are also informative essays on Mexican print making, past and present, and six selections concerning new print-making techniques. Included is a Leonard Baskin wood engraving printed from the original wood block on Japanese paper.

THE COMPLETE LEAVES OF GRASS. By Walt Whitman. With Prose Essences by William L. Moore. Preface by Gay Wilson Allen. 85 reproductions of Japanese calligraphy. Taibundo (Japan). 1096 pp. $33.50.

Mr. Moore's "prose essences" may be of help to Japanese readers of Whitman for whom this huge book is apparently intended, or at least that is what is suggested by Gay Wilson Allen in his short preface. Printed on opposing pages to the text of Whitman's poetry, the "essences" are not summaries, explanations or commentaries. Supposedly to clarify the "drift" of the text and to aid in retaining what Mr. Moore reads as Whitman's "Theme of Man," he interprets "I celebrate myself, and sing myself,/And what I

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assume you shall assume,/For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you" as: "The miracle of my Self —my soul the soujourner, my body the house—I celebrate. Of the Creator of Space and of Earth and of my orbit connecting me with both, I sing." This highly unnecessary labor for American readers results in an odd though handsome volume with special interest for collectors of editions of *Leaves of Grass*.

THE AGE OF THE GRAND TOUR. Historical introduction by Anthony Burgess. 236 monochrome reproductions. 4 full-page reproductions of steel engravings. 16 full-page color plates. Crown Publishers. 136 pp. $30.

The Age of the Grand Tour is a coffee-table book, measuring 19 by 13½ inches. Its theme is set in an essay by Anthony Burgess that recreates without sentiment the sentimental journey through the Continent considered obligatory for the would-be English gentleman of the 18th century. There is also an essay on 18th-century art by Francis Haskell. More involving, however, are the documents and pictures gathered in a volume which is designed rather aptly for leisurely nonsequential reading and browsing. Short passages from diaries, letters and travel books provide the excuse for the sumptuous illustrations, steel engravings and color plates. Those quoted include Madame de Staël, Boswell and Shelley and the only American in the book, James Fenimore Cooper. It is an extravagant book, totally unnecessary; but it will impress and delight both the extremely literate and the quasi-literate, the seasoned Continental gadabout, as well as the armchair traveler.

AUBREY BEARDSLEY. By Brian Reade. 502 black-and-white illustrations. The Viking Press. 372 pp. $16.95.

Brian Reade, who selected the taste-making Beardsley show at The Victoria and Albert Museum (later seen in New York at the Gallery of Modern Art), writes a turgid but helpful summary of Beardsley's life and art, pointing out that this now very fashionable *enfant terrible* of the Yellow Book era, who died at the age of 25, was more than a decadent illustrator of symbolist literature. He was also an innovator in graphics and an influence upon such artists as Picasso, Kandinsky and Paul Klee. The major portion of this heavyweight book is, as it should be, taken up with Beardsley's work itself — whiplash frontispieces, decorations and illustrations ranging from *Tristan* through Wilde's *Salome* to the polymorphous perversity of his notorious illustrations for *Lysistrata*. Lovers of line and plastic inventiveness will delight in this book, but it is not for puritans or their brothers, the prurient.

FROM PEDDLERS TO MERCHANT PRINCES. By Penrose Scull with Prescott C. Fuller. Illustrated with 258 photos, etchings and documents. Follett Publishing Co. 274 pp. $10.

Where camp is still fashionable, this should be the high camp book of the year. The text is written in the unequivocal and sometimes unintentionally humorous style usually reserved

A Sonnet by Pablo Neruda

"Soneto XXIX" is one of a hundred love poems written to his wife, Matilde, by the celebrated Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda.

This collection has been published in Spanish by Editorial Losado, Buenos Aires, under the title *Cien sonetos de amor*. The English translation below will appear in *Later Poems of Pablo Neruda*, translated by Ben Belitt, to be published by Grove Press in 1968.

Translation by Ben Belitt

SONETO XXIX

Vienes de la pobreza de las casas del Sur,
de las regiones duras con frío y terremoto
que cuando hasta sus dioses rodaron a la muerte
nos dieron la lección de la vida en la greda.

Eres un caballito de greda negra, un beso
de barro oscuro, amor, amapola de greda,
paloma del crepúsculo que voló en los caminos,
alcancía con lágrimas de nuestra pobre infancia.

Muchacha, has conservado tu corazón de pobre,
tus pies de pobre acostumbrados a las piedras,
tu boca que no siempre tuvo pan o delicia.

Eres del pobre Sur, de donde viene mi alma:
en su cielo tu madre sigue lavando ropa
con mi madre. Por eso te escogí, compañera.

SONNET XXIX

You come from the destitute South, from the house
of privation, regions made hard with the earthquake and cold
that gave us hard lessons in living in the chalk and the clay
while the gods whom they worshipped were spinning away to their death.

You are a little mare carved in black clay, a kiss
dusky with pitch, beloved, a clay poppy,
a pigeon of twilight that fluttered its way on the roads
and followed us into a childhood of want, with its tears.

You who always preserved your heart's poverty,
girl with the feet of the needy, accustomed to stones,
whose mouth was not always acquainted with sweetmeat and bread:

You come from the destitute South that once nurtured my soul;
in her heaven, your mother goes on with her washing, washing clothes
with my mother. Therefore I have singled you out to be my companion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for sixth-grade American history textbooks. The photos, old ads and steel engravings are delightful. The book is a good choice as a gift for a merchant uncle who takes himself seriously enough to take the book seriously or a copywriter cousin who will get the point. A caption reading "Post's advertising copy of 1907 reflected his forthright convictions, combining commercialism with a health crusade," identifies a Postum ad that begins: "Do you wake up in the night with a feeling of suffocation and dread?"

AMERICAN DAGUERREIAN ART. By Floyd and Marion Rinhart. 78 black-and-white illustrations; 12 in color. Clarkson N. Potter. 135 pp. $10.

With few but occasionally notable exceptions ("Man in a Straw Hat," "Virginia Gentleman," "Two Bakers") the daguerreotypes reproduced in this informative book are not art but merely documents of a historical period and of the birth pangs of photography. This rather specialized book traces and illustrates the short but fascinating history of the daguerreotype in America. Of particular interest are the color daguerreotypes of Levi Hill. Along with numerous portrait photographs there are landscapes and a sampling of decorative daguerreotype cases.

THE IMPERIAL COLLECTION OF AUDUBON ANIMALS. By John James Audubon and the Rev. John Bachman. 150 color prints. Hammond. 307 pp. $19.95 first printing; $25 thereafter.

This handsome collector's item with an illustrated text by Audubon and the Reverend Bachman, has an updating by editor Victor H. Cahlane.

THE SHOREBIRDS OF NORTH AMERICA. Edited by Gardner D. Stout. Text by Peter Matthiessen. Paintings by Robert Verity Clem. 32 color plates. The Viking Press. 270 pp. $22.50.

Although the color plates are attractive to all, this is a book for the specialist, the naturalist, and only the advanced bird watcher. Amateur, armchair naturalists may get lost, for it treats the habits and characteristics of shorebirds (not gulls, terns, geese or ducks but sandpipers, plovers and the like) with great scientific detail.

JACKSON POLLOCK. By Francis V. O'Connor. 110 illustrations. 1 color gatefold. Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Doubleday & Co. 148 pp. $6.95. Paper $3.95.

Published in connection with the Pollock retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art last year, this fascinating book documents chronologically bits and pieces of biographical data, interviews, letters, statements, gallery shows and reviews from Pollock's birth in 1912 on the Watkins Ranch at Cody, Wyo., to his tragic death in 1956 in East Hampton. This "cool" book of hard facts and documents affords a glimpse of the man behind the paintings in a way that no biography or criticism could ever do. It should interest anyone either fascinated with or bewildered by Pollock's great paintings.

Records 1967/Benjamin Boretz

In this annual listing, the first category, "Records of the Year," is a compilation of performances and works of major musical interest. "Literature of Special Interest" lists a number of other recordings released during 1967 that make worthwhile, if somewhat more limited, contributions to the recorded literature. "Performances of Special Interest" and "Significant Reissues" list responsible performances of frequently performed literature and reissues of historical performances or of more recent recordings lately out of print.

I. Records of the Year

BACH, C.P.E.: Four Orchestral Symphonies. The Little Orchestra of London; Leslie Jones, cond. Nonesuch H-71180.

BERG: *Wozzeck*. Walter Berry, Isabel Strauss, Fritz Uhl, Carl Doench, vocal soloists; Chorus and Orchestra of the Paris National Opera: Pierre Boulez, cond. C.B.S. 32 21 0002.

BYRD: Mass in Three Parts. Mass in Four Parts. Choir of King's College Chapel, Cambridge; David Willcocks, cond. Argo ZRG 5362.

Mass for Five Voices. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from The Great Service. King's College Chapel, Cambridge; David Willcocks, cond. Argo ZRG 5226.

CHOPIN: Mazurkas, complete. Artur Rubinstein, piano. RCA Victor LSC 6177.

COPLAND: Quartet for piano and strings (1950). Sextet (1933). *Vitebsk*. Juilliard String Quartet; Aaron Copland, piano. Columbia ML 6454 MS 7052.

MAHLER: *Das Lied von der Erde*. James King, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, soloists; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Leonard Bernstein, cond. London OS 26005.

MONTEVERDI: Vespers of 1610. Gregg Smith Singers; Texas Boys' Choir; Columbia Baroque Ensemble; Robert Craft, cond. Columbia M2L 363/M2S 763.

MOZART: *Don Giovanni*. Nicolai Ghiaurov, Claire Watson, Nicolai Gedda, Christa Ludwig, Walter Berry, Mirella Freni, vocal soloists; New Philharmonia Orchestra and Chorus; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S)DL 3700.

NEW MUSIC FOR PIANO: Works by Dahl, Berger, Kennan, Adler, Overton, Babbitt, Gideon, Berkowitz, Weber, Kraft, Pisk, Powell, Gould, V. Fine, Hovhaness, Perle, Cazden, Prostakoff, Glanville-Hicks, Bacon, Helps, Brunswick, Kim, Alexander; Robert Helps, piano. RCA Victor LM/LSC 7042.

PUCCINI: *Turandot*. Nilsson, Corelli, Scotto, vocal soloists; Rome Opera Chorus and Orchestra; Francesco Molinari-Pradelli, cond. Angel (S)CL 3671.

RACHMANINOFF: 24 Preludes for Piano. Constance Keene, piano. Philips PHC 2-006.

SCHUETZ: *Kleine Geistliche Konzerte*, Book I. Soloists, Instrumentalists, Westphalian Choral Ensemble; Wilhelm Ehmann, director. Nonesuch HB-73012.

SCHOENBERG: The Works of Arnold Schoenberg, Vol. 5.

Wind Quintet, Op. 26. Danzi Quintet. Philips PHC 9068.

STRAVINSKY: *Marta* (1922). *Les Noces* (1912-23). Soloists and ensembles conducted by Robert Craft. Columbia ML 6391/MS 6991.

Movements. *Epitaphium*. Double Canon Septet. *The Owl and the Pussy Cat*. Fanfare. *A Sermon, a Narrative and a Prayer*. Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 6454/MS 7054.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TCHAIKOWSKY: Symphonies Nos. 4,5,6. Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel(S)CB 3711.

VERDI: *Falstaff*. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Ilva Ligabue, Regina Resnik, Graziella Sciutti, Juan Oncina, Rolando Panerai, and other vocalists; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Leonard Bernstein, cond. Columbia M3L 350/M3S 750.

II. Literature of Special Interest

BABBITT: *Ensembles* for Synthesizer, with Cafe: Variations II and Pousseur: *Trois visages de Liège*. Columbia MS 7051.

BACH: *Art of Fugue*. Chamber Orchestra of the Sarre; Karl Ristenpart, cond. Nonesuch HB-73013.

Cantata No. 201, *"Der Streit Zwischen Phoebus und Pan."* Edith Mathis, Ingeborg Russ, Wilfrid Jochims, Peter Schreier, Erich Wenk, Jakob Stämpfli, soloists; Chorus of the Gedächtniskirche and Bach-Collegium, Stuttgart; Helmuth Rilling, cond. Nonesuch H-7166.

BARTOK: Sonata for piano. (with: 3 Studies, *Out of Doors*, and Suite). Noël Lee, piano. Nonesuch H-71175.

BERGER: Chamber Music for 13 Players (1956). Three Pieces for two pianos (1961). Columbia Chamber Ensemble; Gunther Schuller, cond. Paul Jacobs, Gilbert Kalish, pianos. Columbia ML 6359/MS 6959.

BOULEZ: Le Marteau sans maître. Jeanne Deroubaix, alto; Severino Gazzeloni, alto flute; Georges van Gucht, xylorimba; Claude Ricou, vibraphone; Jean Batigne, percussion; Anton Stingl, guitar; Serge Collot, viola; Pierre Boulez, cond. Turnabout TV 4081/TV 340818.

BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 5 in B flat. New Philharmonia; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel S-3209.

Symphony No. 6 in A. Bavarian Radio Orchestra; Eugen Jochum, cond. DGG SLPM 139 136.

DVORAK: Symphonies 1,2,3,4,5,6. London Symphony Orchestra; Istvan Kertesz, cond. London CS 6523, CS 6524, CS 6525, CS 6526, CS 6511, CS 6495.

ELECTRONIC MUSIC FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS. Brün: *Futility* for speaker and tape. Gaburo: *Lemon Drops; For Harry*. Hamm: *Canto* for soprano, speaker, and ensemble. Hiller: *Machine Music* for piano, percussion and tape. Martirano: *Underworld*. Ensemble from the University of Illinois; Jack McKenzie and David Gilbert, conds. Heliodor HS2 5047.

ELGAR: Cello Concerto. Jacqueline du Pré, cello; London Symphony Orchestra; Sir John Barbirolli, cond. Angel (S)36338.

HANDEL: Organ Concertos, complete. Edward Müller, organ. Chola Cantorum Basiliensis; August Wenzinger, cond. Archive SKL 917/21.

ISAAC: *Missa Carminum*. JOSQUIN: *Ave, Christe Immolate*. LASSUS: Choral works. Niedersächsigher Singkreis; Willi Träder, cond. Kaufbeurer Martinsfinken; Ludwig Hahn, cond. Nonesuch H-71084.

LUTOSLAWSKI: Concerto for Orchestra. *Funeral Music*. (with: *Venetian Games*). Warsaw National Philharmonic Orchestra; Witold Rowicki, cond. Philips PHS 900-159.

MILHAUD: *La Création du monde*. (with: *Le Boeuf sur le toit.*) Orchestre du Théâtre des Champs-Elysées; Darius Milhaud, cond. Nonesuch H-71122.

NEW MUSIC FROM BRITAIN. Davies: *Leopardi Fragments*. Goehr: Two Choruses. Bennett: *Calendar*. Williamson: Symphony for Voices. Melos Ensemble; John Carewe, cond. Angel (S) 36387.

ROSSINI: *Semiramide*. Joan Sutherland, Marilyn Horne, and other soloists; London Symphony Orchestra; Richard Bonynge, cond. London OSA 1382.

SCHUETZ: *Deutsches Magnificat. Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?* Psalm 2 (with Monteverdi: *Magnificat*). Kantorei Barmen-Gemarke; Helmut Kahlhöfer, cond. Nonesuch H-71134.

Symphoniae Sacrae (9 Concertos from Book I). Soloists and Instrumentalists; Helmut Rilling, cond. Nonesuch H-71160.

SCHULLER: *Triplum* (1967). New York Philharmonic; Leonard Bernstein, cond. Columbia ML 6452/MS 7052.

STOCKHAUSEN: Complete Piano Music. Aloys Kontarsky, piano. CBS 32 21 0008.

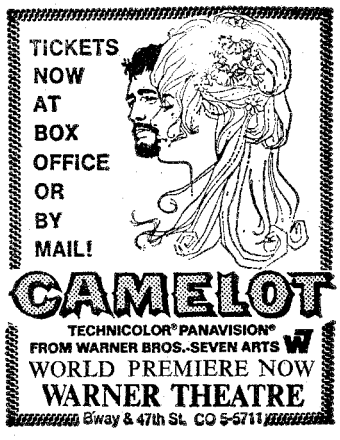
STRAVINSKY: *Les Noces. Pribouatki. Berceuses du chat*. Four Russian Songs. Four Russian Peasant Songs. Chorus and Soloists of the Orchestre du Théâtre National de l'Opéra, Paris; Pierre Boulez, cond. Nonesuch H-71133.

Orpheus. Symphony in Three Movements. London Symphony Orchestra; Colin Davis, cond. Philips PHS 900-153.

Symphony in E flat. Columbia Symphony; Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 6389/MS 6989.

TCHAIKOWSKY: *Queen of Spades*. Valentina Levko, Tamara Milashkina, Irina Arkhipova, Zurab Anzhaparidzye, Mikhail Kiselev, Yuri Mazurok, soloists; Chorus and Orchestra of the Bolshoi Theater; Boris Khaikin, cond. Melodiya/Angel (S)RD 4104.

Suites for Orchestra. London Sym-



The Nation
BOOK SERVICE

Offers the following at a discount:

- ☐ **ANATOMY OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT** by Smith Simpson (Houghton Mifflin, $5.95) $4.75
- ☐ **FAMINE** 1975! America's Decision: Who Will Survive? by William and Paul Paddock (Little, Brown, & Co., $6.50) $5.20
- ☐ **THE FREE WORLD COLOSSUS: A** critique of American Foreign Policy in the Cold War by David Horowitz (Hill & Wang, $6.95) $5.55
- ☐ **FRIENDSHIP AND FRATRICIDE** by Meyer A. Zeligs (Viking, $8.95) $7.15
- ☐ **THE GOODBYE LAND** by Jose Yglesias (Pantheon, $4.95) $3.95
- ☐ **PRISON NOTES** by Barbara Deming (Grossman, $4.95) $3.95
- ☐ **THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POWER** by Ronald Sampson (Pantheon, $4.95) .. $3.95
- ☐ **THE NEW RADICALISM** by Christopher Lasch (Knopf, $6.95) $5.55

Remittance accompanying orders should be made payable to THE NATION, 333 6th Ave., N.Y. 10014

Readers can avail themselves of our regular offer to send them any book (except paperbacks), published in the U.S. at the retail price post-free. When ordering, please give title, author and publisher.

12-25-67

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phony Orchestra; Antal Dorati, cond. Mercury SR3-9018.

TELEMANN: St. Matthew Passion. Theo Altmeyer, Horst Günter, Sena Jurinac, Franz Crass, soloists; Lucerne Festival Choir, Swiss Festival Orchestra; Kurt Redel, cond. Philips PHS 2-994.

WAGNER: *Tristan und Isolde.* Birgit Nilsson, Wolfgang Windgassen, Christa Ludwig, Martti Talvela, Eberhard Waechter, soloists; Bayreuth Festival Orchestra; Karl Böhm, cond. DGG 139 221/25.

Die Walküre. Birgit Nilsson, Regina Crespin, Christa Ludwig, James King, Gottlob Frick, soloists; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Georg Solti, cond. London OSA 1509.

WUORINEN: Piano Variations. Martirano: *Cocktail Music.* Burge: *Eclipse II*; David Burge, piano. Advance FGR 3.

III. Performances of Special Interest

BARTOK: Piano Concertos Nos. 1 and 3. Peter Serkin, piano. Chicago Symphony Orchestra; Seiji Ozawa, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2929.

BEETHOVEN: Violin Concerto. Yehudi Menuhin, violin. The New Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S) 36369.

DEBUSSY: Piano Music. Charles Rosen, piano. Epic LC 3945/BC 1345.

DVORAK: Symphonies Nos. 7,8,9. The Cleveland Orchestra; George Szell, cond. Epic SC 6055/BSC 155.

FRANCK: Symphony in D minor. New Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S) 36416.

SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 1. *Manfred* Overture. New Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S) 36353.

VERDI: *Un Ballo in Maschera.* Leontyne Price, Carlo Bergonzi, Shirley Verrett, Reri Grist, Robert Merrill, Ezio Flagello, soloists; RCA Italiana Opera Orchestra and Chorus; Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6179.

IV. Significant Reissues

BEETHOVEN: *Fidelio.* Soloists, Vienna State Opera Chorus; Vienna Philharmonia; Wilhelm Fürtwangler, cond. Seraphim 6022.

Symphonies 3, 5, 7. Vienna Philharmonia; Wilhelm Fürtwangler, cond. Seraphim 6018.

LISZT: *Faust* Symphony. *Orpheus.* Royal Philharmonic Orchestra; Thomas Beecham, cond. Seraphim IB-6017.

STRAUSS: *Alpine* Symphony. Bavarian State Orchestra; Richard Strauss, cond. Seraphim 60006.

VERDI: *Aida.* Maria Caniglia, Beniamino Gigli, Ebe Stignani, Gino Bechi, soloists; Rome Opera Chorus and Orchestra; Tullio Serafin, cond. Seraphim IC 6016.

Don Carlo. Antonietta Stella, Elena Nicolai, Mario Flippeschi, Tito Gobbi, Boris Christoff, soloists; Rome Opera Chorus and Orchestra; Gabriele Santini, cond. Seraphim IC 6004.

WAGNER: *Parsifal.* 1951 Bayreuth Production; Hans Knappertsbusch, cond. Richmond RS 65001.

Die Walküre. Martha Mödl, Ludwig Suthaus, Leonie Rysanek, Ferdinand Frantz, Gottlob Frick, Margarete Klose, soloists; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Wilhelm Furtwängler, cond. Seraphim IE-6012.

The Wars of Private Hochhuth

C. AMERY

Hans Hochhuth's The Soldiers *was banned in England; it will be presented in Toronto on February 28 by the non-profit and partly government-sponsored Theater Toronto; a second production is scheduled to open at the Mark Taper Forum, Los Angeles, on March 15.*

Berlin

Compared to *The Deputy*, Hochhuth's latest venture into the ethics of World War II, *The Soldiers*, has caused only tiny ripples in Germany. And I doubt that this is simply a matter of artistic decline. Hochhuth's old-fashioned approach to the theatre is similar in both plays; both are more impressive when read, and in both the author's historical footnotes, liberally sprinkled through the italics of stage directions (directions which can never be translated into "business"), convey the real Hochhuth style. One reason for the awful Berlin flop of *The Soldiers* could be that it did not have the benefit of a director as powerful and sovereign as the late Erwin Piscator, who virtually "made" *The Deputy* on the stage. Another reason could be that Hochhuth's first play, attacking Pope Pius XII, carried with it the advantage of surprise, which could not be generated a second time.

I believe, however, that the real reason for Hochhuth's inability to rouse the German public again goes deeper; and that it is a strictly political reason. Fundamentally, even the rabid German Nazi was never anti-Churchill. Despite his savage determination, his cruel jests about the Hun, his relentless method of running the war, Churchill had a curiously positive image in Germany. Hitler must have felt that; his maniacal concentration on Churchill, his rantings against the "whisky drinker" and "madman," show a definite fear—the fear of a type of *Fuehrer* superior to the German brand. It is well known that Hitler and the Nazis revered the British Empire—as they saw it, and as it never was: the result of a vast master plan to dominate the world, executed by a race of supermen holding morality in utter disregard. They were never able even to guess at the post-Christian substance behind the façade of the empire. Churchill was, to them, the embodiment of the British conqueror spirit and their rage at him was largely caused by his curious failure (as they saw it) to pursue England's true interest.

Hochhuth's debunking attempt was therefore bound to fall flat. What, after all, did he try to prove? That Churchill was Machiavellian, the designer of the air war against Germany's cities, and the plotter of Sikorski's death? That is not news; not even emotional news. *The Deputy* managed to shock and surprise because it forced a new historical view on the public; *The Soldiers* does not. It is significant that even the extreme Right—always eager to run up the accounts of Hamburg and Dresden against those of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen—made no real attempt to exploit the issue.

For Hochhuth, this was probably not unfortunate. He is anything but a Nazi, and nothing was and is further from his mind than to provide alibis for our past. His two crusades were both born of a deeply moralistic attitude; an attitude touching in its fundamental simplicity. For him, it is obvious, Men Make History. A witty German critic remarked that *The Deputy* could have been written only by a Protestant: no Catholic would think of piling so much moral credit, so much free responsibility, upon a Pope of the Church. The remark can be applied as well to Hochhuth's new

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

venture. In his extracurricular statements, Hochhuth has bent backward to make clear his view that Churchill's was a truly tragic dilemma; that he could not escape the consequence of the war, of the power constellation linking the West and Soviet Russia, of the necessity to support the Russian land war before an invasion from the West was possible. But the play fails to bring out that dilemma. This, it seems, is the fault of his old-fashioned dramatic means. He does not even attempt to get away from a drama of "protagonists"; and it can be said that Shakespeare's *Richard II* shows more affinity to modern politics than does either of Hochhuth's plays. He is, in a way, a typical "little German"; fascinated by the People Up There, blaming the blood baths on their moral shortcomings, and unable or unwilling to analyze the social structures that force even the protagonists of history into their molds.

This is regrettable, because it betrays a state of moral affairs in literature which becomes dangerous to our future. With "Christian" literature nonexistent, and Marxist literature becoming more and more cynical under the guise of hilarity, the earnest and undivided moral purpose in literary endeavor is left to the cranks, to the second-raters and to individual crusaders. While the whole literary Left upholds the traditions of Zola, it is silently agreed that his direct approach to issues of the day is obsolete. More than ever, we need a Friedrich von Schiller in German literary life, a man who believes in the theatre as a "moral institution." It is too bad that his emulator today does not share his keen and differentiated historical insight.

FILMS / Robert Hatch

If I were a functionary of Mr. Johnson's war, the thing about Felix Greene's *Inside North Vietnam* that would frighten me is its evidence that the people are merry. The defense, no doubt, would be to cry falsification, citing the facts that Greene is avowedly hostile to the American intervention, that he enjoyed the cooperation of the authorities in Hanoi, that he reports having shot ten hours of film for a picture that runs eighty-five minutes. Thus there was plenty of scope for selection, and a cold warrior could try to evade the movie by saying that it was made to prove a point.

Well, no doubt it was, and no doubt Greene chose those passages that made the point most effectively. But unless you are prepared to believe that the North Vietnamese are a nation of polished actors, unless you can imagine that, in a period when they are struggling to keep their land functioning under the rain of American death, large companies of them took out time to rehearse for Greene's camera, it is hard to argue away the effect they make. Because that effect lies not in anything particular that they do but in their carriage and presence. They are quick, resourceful, ironic, full of laughter, drawn together in a brotherhood of peril. Anyone who lived with the British during World War II will be convinced by the spirit of Greene's documentation, because he will have experienced before the euphoria that uplifts a resolute people when they are harassed from the sky.

The most surprising quality of the North Vietnamese is their coolness. Only one man in the footage Greene shows gives evidence of anger, and he is a farmer in a small thatched village, whose wife and son had been killed in a raid the night before. Otherwise, these people fight the war clinically, as though a disease were ravaging their country. The plague, as they know, can devastate a whole populace, but one does not for that reason curse the rats. Speed, discipline, selflessness are demanded of a people under siege; rage is irrelevant. No one whom Greene interviews, from high officials to factory girls and workers in the rice fields, spoke as harshly of Americans as Johnson and Rusk have spoken of their domestic critics. They all seemed entirely content to let the events speak for themselves.

Greene talked with an Air Force major who had been shot down ten days earlier, suffering a broken arm and leg. He received first aid in the field (the claim is not made, but I suspect that the North Vietnamese public has the best training in practical medicine to be found anywhere today), and was moved quickly to a hospital where his fractures were expertly tended. In the film, he seems bewildered by this humane treatment, a state of mind that may have influenced his answers to Greene's questions. What he said though, sounded more like common sense than contrition: the war is bad for everyone concerned and should be terminated at the first possible moment; but it can be ended only by the American people themselves, who must go to the polls and vote their determination.

I was struck by the fact that when Greene asked Pham Van Dong whether his country would accept volunteers (presumably from China or Russia), the Prime Minister seemed not very much interested in the question. Yes, he said, such assistance would certainly be welcome if the day ever came when it was needed, but clearly that need was too remote to engage his present attention.

Greene reports that except for Hanoi and Haiphong, urban life has ceased in North Vietnam. But despite the bombing that daily wipes out villages and kills villagers in this predominately rural country, North Vietnam does not look badly hurt. Again, Greene could have edited to minimize the devastation (what he shows is bad enough), but I really do not see how he could have simulated the health and vigor that spring from every scene and provide the beauty of his film. It is as certain as prediction can ever be that the North Vietnamese will not be defeated or driven to negotiate. But they are dying, and it is at least possible that if we raise the bombing level sufficiently high, and continue it sufficiently long, we can kill them all. The alternative to exterminating this peculiarly attractive people is to make peace. Greene's message is that it is we who must make that peace, that it is not in the character of the Vietnamese to cry mercy of their tormentors (after all, they have resisted the Chinese for centuries). Mr. Johnson would no doubt call that propaganda; I call it the nature of man.

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION 12-25-67
333 Sixth Ave., New York 10014

☐ One Year, $10
☐ Two Years, $18
☐ 6 Months, $6

☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed

(Foreign and Canadian Postage $1 a year extra)

Name.....
Address.....
City.....
State.....Zip No.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TELEVISION/John Horn

President Johnson set up a task force last August to review past activities in the entire field of communications, from television to satellites—both domestic (potential) and international (actual)—and to formulate (finally) a national communications policy. Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Public Affairs, is chairman of the committee, which is made up from a cross section of Administration executives.

Better late than never seems to be the United States policy in television, as in other matters. Slowly we are coming around to reluctant acceptance of planning (the American genius is improvisation) and of the philosophy that the public, in all its diversity and individuality, must be served by the air waves it owns in more qualitative ways than that determined by body count. These considerations, yet to be acknowledged in the United States, were keystones in the founding of England's TV back in 1936. Our communications gap is as scandalous as our credibility gap.

One of the weaknesses of Public Broadcasting, as recently enacted by Congress, derives from a lack of overview of television. Public Broadcasting, apart from instructional television which, it seems, everyone wants and no one wants to pay for, apparently is intended to fill an informational-cultural need. This was assumed without a review of commercial television, which attracts 98 per cent of the audience, and has failed to live up to its public responsibility in the private use of the public air waves. For their part, commercial-television operators claim either that the need does not exist or that it is not their function to meet it. The public is expected to buy a pig in a poke to nourish their informational-cultural appetites.

Wishing the task force well, one wishes also that it were ready, willing and able to assume the long view. A good way for it to prepare for its work would be to take—and pass—the thirty-program course on "Communications and Education" that Charles A. Siepmann, professor emeritus of the New York University School of Education, is currently conducting for the New York State Education Department. Produced by the School Television Service of WNDT/Channel 13, New York, the series is seen Tuesday and Thursday evenings on Channel 13 and is available to other stations, including WETA-TV, Washington, D.C., where it is most needed. Members of Congress as well as the task force are urged to acquaint themselves, through Professor Siepmann's course, with practices and possibilities of the great medium they have allowed to become simultaneously the broadcaster's gold mine and the public's social-cultural pocket of poverty.

Siepmann, who taught at New York University for more than twenty years and is special television consultant to the Ford Foundation and author of many books on communications, distills in his current postgraduate course the facts and findings of his life work, which began with the B.B.C. in his native England. From a thirty-year retrospect of broadcasting, Siepmann ranges far, wide and deep.

He is wry: "Everyone, particularly the ignorant layman, knows what's wrong with education and how to get it right." He is blunt: "What we've got is a system of broadcasting admirably conceived to make of this a great instrument of cultural advancement, but a system that has failed." He is as didactically amusing as Bernard Shaw, whom he quoted in a warning ignored two decades ago by the U.S. broadcasting audience: "Get what you like or you will be forced to like what you get."

Siepmann's farsightedness should impress any task force now belatedly addressing itself to a national communications policy. Nineteen years ago, in *The Radio Listener's Bill of Rights,* he wrote:

> Since the major appetite of listeners is for entertainment, stations find that they can put on entertainment programs during all the evening hours and muster consistently large audiences. This is very nice—and it is also *very* profitable.
>
> The temptation, therefore, is to pocket the handsome profits and claim that radio is giving the public what it wants. What radio overlooks is that, by catering primarily to the major appetites of the majority, the majority's minor appetites and a great many minorities' *major* appetites (for good music, for good discussion and fine drama, etc.) are seriously underfed. The result is a surfeit of entertainment and a shortage of other kinds of programs.

His radio analysis was a forecast of television. The affluence of TV stations is matched by the wholesale pap of TV programing. That Siepmann has been a prophet without honor is his adopted country's shame.

LETTERS *(Continued from page 674)*

I don't claim credit for the observation that James influenced Eliot, but I hope I provided some evidence of specific ways in which the influence was manifested. Any reviewer can summarize any book in a way that makes it seem idiotic. Responsible reviewers try not to do this.

Finally, I objected to the implication that my views are akin to those of the Nazis. I see planning as one element in social democracy and Kampf points out that planning was a part of fascism and of the concentration camps. . . . As a matter of simple historical fact, fascism was an anti-modern rebellion against bureaucratically organized industrial society, against modernization, against rationalism itself. Fascism affirmed the glories of the irrational and the spontaneous rather than the planned. I don't mean that Kampf is thereby a Fascist. I do wish we might communicate without flurries of abuse.

Allen Guttman

Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR SIRS: Allen Guttmann thinks the war in Vietnam a "tragedy." I do not. Unless deliberate murder engendered by an imperialist foreign policy is to be considered tragic. But the gist of Guttmann's book is that conservative ideas are an irrelevance since things are getting better and more enlightened all the time ("relatively better" in his letter; the qualifier is not in evidence in his book). Thus the slaughter in Vietnam has to be looked at as a blunder, a tragic accident. These matters are not peripheral to Guttmann's book; indeed, they are its very reason for being. I "cannot allow" Guttmann "to discuss political ideas rather than politics," because *The Conservative Tradition in America*'s primary concern is, in fact, the relation of ideology to political reality. My complaint is that Guttmann's picture of political reality is an academic fantasy.

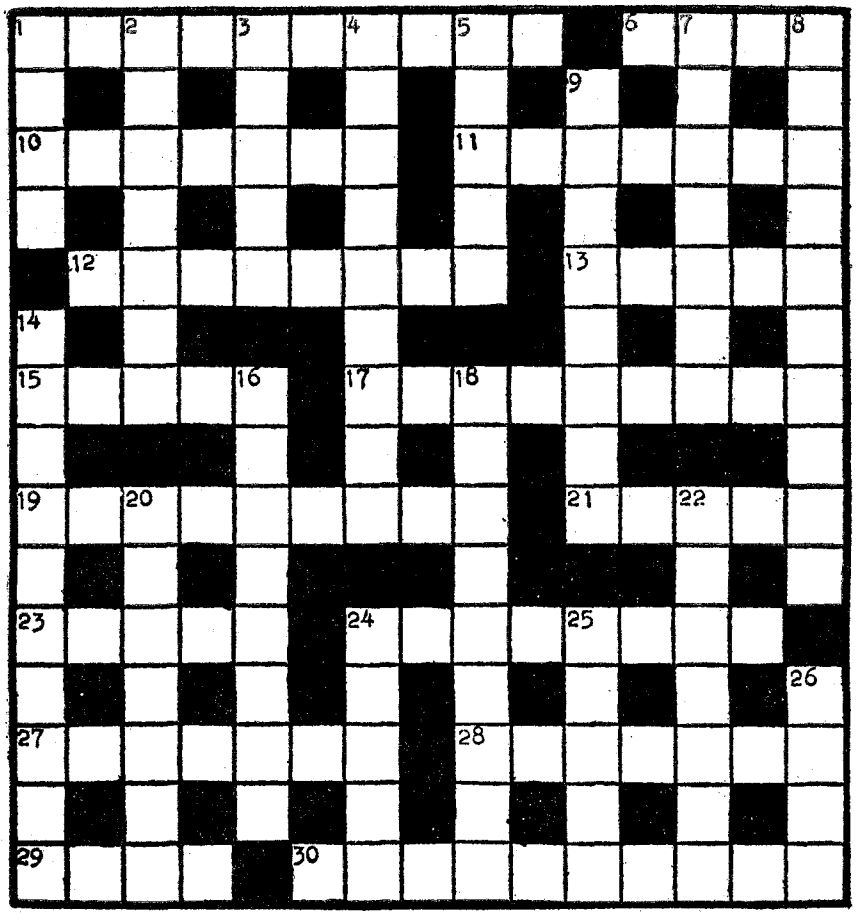
Could Guttmann look once more at my remarks on the military? They appear not to have registered. As for my failure to "acknowledge" the dozens of topics discussed in his book, I hereby acknowledge them. But I will not acknowledge that I misrepresented the book. Nor will I acknowledge that German and Italian fascism, for example, were opposed to bureaucracy, to organized industrial society and to modernization. Whose histories has he been reading? I suggest to Guttmann that Fascist cant is not equivalent to social fact. The same holds true for the cant of American social democrats.

Louis Kampf

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1229

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 End up with clean sheets, based on someone else's work! (10)
6 The opening side sounds spread. (4)
10 Unable to, even in an old-fashioned way, get a drink from one? (7)
11 See 1 down.
12 Ascertains the size of bills in bars. (8)
13 Set at bedtime, perhaps, it's a fright. (5)
15 Follow the sun explosion in the orient, or at least signs of it. (5)
17 The scatterings of the tribe stem from it, and causes some animosity. (9)
19 Well-dressed, perhaps, but happened to be evicted. (6,3)
21 The answer suggests the sound of him in the morning. (5)
23 Prepare a dynamic presentation, but still prepare! (5)
24 Gets ripe for distinction? (8)
27 Draw with force?(7)
28 Ruth less likely to be found with such types. (7)
29 See 4 down.
30 Stand-out examples of old-fashioned dress. (10)

DOWN:

1 and 11 across. Spinal anaesthetics are probably out-of-date! (4,7)
2 and 25 down. Speculates on vegetables raised for market, and is mightily surprised! (6-6)
3 Edsel's city. (5)
4 and 29 across. Your selection in the third might, if behaving predictably. (3,4,2,4)
5 Turns commercial, perhaps. (5)
7 Welcome anger? That's mean! (7)
8 A shrub stem that might prove to be poisonous. (10)
9 Told the speaker is divided, evidently. (8)
14 . . . . . than none, when it comes to a loaf made by your wife, perhaps! (6,4)
16 Each person should be associated with morality. (8)
18 The flower of operatic stagecraft? (9)
20 Genuine high point reached by the broker? (7)
22 Recurring at fixed times in the army, perhaps. (7)
24 Stroke ten in court. (5)
25 See 2 down.
26 They might be held at the 23. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1228

ACROSS: 1 Lame duck; 5 Stoned; 10 Beams; 12 Low-down; 13 License; 14 Gimlet; 15 Disease; 18 Acetous; 21 Branch; 24 Service; 26 Gas line; 27 Obedience; 29 Kosher; 30 Presided. DOWN: 1 Labels; 2, 11 and 28 Meanwhile back at the ranch; 3 Despoil; 4 Cabinet; 6 Trances; 7 Not in; 8 Deepened; 9 Scaled; 16 Auctioned; 17 Pass book; 19 Olivine; 20 Sterne; 21 Bugbear; 22 Absorbs; 23 Method; 25 Reels.

PUBLICATIONS

'THE PRESS AND THE BAY OF PIGS'

A detailed study by
Victor Bernstein and Jesse Gordon

The role played by *The Nation* in breaking the Bay of Pigs story to the American public, reprinted from the Fall issue of *Columbia University Forum*. It has already been selected for an anthology to be published by Atheneum next Spring.

Single copies—15c
25 copies at 10c each
Orders over 25 at 7c per copy

THE NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014

"SELECTED POEMS" of GEORGE FLYNN (Villiers of London—$2.00) is "the most exciting American poetry since Ezra Pound." —James Turner. **Available in U.S. from the author at: 145 West 12 Street, New York City 10011.**

ART

WOULD YOU BELIEVE? EXCITING ORIGINAL woodcuts, etchings, lithos, **$4.50 each.** Subscription information: **Graphic Circle, (N), 68 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10011**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at **competitive** rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, **insured,** experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

BOOKPLATES

FREE CATALOG—beautiful designs for **every** age and taste. Special designing too. Address: **BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 2, Ohio.**

PERSONALS

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE
(Computerized Matching—All Ages)
"Let TEAM make you a team."
Write:
TEAM Project
245 East 30th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016, Phone 889-6020

HIP AMERICANA — posters — postcards. For color brochure mail 25c to: **AMERICAN NEWSREPEAT COMPANY, P.O. Box 18214, San Francisco 93118.**

MAKE LOVE NOT WAR
Metal, 2 kinds/$2; Peace Bumper Strips, 12 kinds/$2; Pencils, 7 kinds/25-$1; **Hoffa for President & Impeach Johnson** disc & rulers, 12/$1, 100/$5. **Plentyism, Box 115 Edison, Miami 33151**

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHT MACHINE. An escape into an exciting dimension. Assemble in minutes with less than $10.00 of easily obtainable parts. Send $1 for instructions, drawing to: **CARLLTON CO., 2317 Delancey, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103**

REAGAN & LASSIE IN '68, KILL FOR PEACE, JOHNSON FOR EX-PRESIDENT king-size bumper strips. 2/$1, 5/$2, 15/$5. **TOPP, P.O. Box N 1802, Chicago, Illinois 60690**

ADVERTISE YOUR NEEDS IN THE NATION

Printed by Milford Publishing Inc., Milford, Conn.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Christmas Let Your Friends In On A Good Thing!

48 Issues of

NATION Plus FREE Bonus Book

- **VIETNAM: The Logic of Withdrawal** *by Howard Zinn*
- **THE NEW STUDENT LEFT** *edited by Mitchel Cohen and Dennis Hale*
- **BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN** *by Carey McWilliams*
- **THE WAR IN VIETNAM** *by the Staff of the Senate Republican Policy Committee*

Special Christmas Offer

THE NATION **333 Sixth Avenue** **New York, N.Y. 10014**

Please send **The Nation** as a gift for one year at the Christmas rate of $10 for the first Gift subscription, **and** $8 for each additional Gift, to the following friends. Also send a **FREE** copy of the book I have listed.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip #.....

Book ..... Sign Gift Card from .....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip #.....

Book ..... Sign Gift Card from .....

Your Own Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip #.....

12-25-67

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED